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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

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OF THE

CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND.

BY

JOHN DE WAVRIN,
LORD OF FORESTEL.

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE

SIR WILLIAM HARDY, KNIGHT, F.S.A.,

AND

EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A.,
OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER AT LAW.

FROM A.D. 1399 TO A.D. 1422.

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BY JOHN DE WAVRIN.

Fourth Volume: Book Five.

[From the Coronation of King Henry the Fourth.]

Here beginneth the fifth book of this present Volume, which contains thirteen chapters, of which the first speaks of the Coronation of Henry of Lancaster, which was done by the consent of the Commons of England; and of the manner of the festivity. Chapter I.

In the year of the incarnation of our Lord fourteen hundred, less one [1399], it happened in England, in September, on the last day of that month, on a Tuesday, that Henry of Lancaster held a Parliament at the Palace of Westminster, which is without London, and at the said Parliament were assembled all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of England for the most part, and moreover there were all the dukes, earls, barons, and nobles of the said kingdom, and also the commons of every town, a fortieth of the people, more or less according as the towns were great or small. And there were all the said people assembled at Westminster on this aforesaid Tuesday, there being present the Duke of Lancaster and the prelates and nobles of the kingdom of England, which A.D. 1399.

A.D. 1399. duke made demand for the crown on three grounds, first, by conquest; secondly, for that he claimed to be heir; and thirdly, because Richard of Bordeaux had resigned the kingdom into his hands, of his pure and free will, in the presence of dukes, earls, prelates, and barons in the hall of the Great Court of London. These three grounds being shown, Duke Henry of Lancaster demanded in the hearing of the people of England, who, as has been said, were assembled there, that they should speak their will on this matter, and at once the people answered all with one voice, that it was indeed their wish that he should be their king, and that they did not wish to have any other king than him. And again, after this discourse, the duke inquired and demanded of the said people, if it was indeed their will, and they all answered with one voice: "Yes, yes." And there, in presence of them all, the said Duke Henry sat down on the royal seat, which seat was raised on high, in the midst of the hall, covered with cloth of gold and with a canopy above, so that all who were there could see him well; and, forthwith, all the people who were there stretched forth their hands towards him, promising fealty to him, and showing great joy; and then this Parliament was concluded, and the day of his coronation[1] was sworn to, appointed, and confirmed. This done, he set out from Westminster, and went to the Tower of London, with a great following, and that night all the esquires who were to be made knights on the morrow, to the number of forty-six, kept their vigil; and each of the esquires had his chamber, and each his bath, where they bathed that night; and, on the morrow, the Duke of Lancaster at his mass knighted them, and gave them long green coats, with

[1] Was fixed by his command, Saint Edward's day, which was Monday the thirteenth day of October; and on the Saturday before the day of his coronation he set out. S.

narrow sleeves, furred with miniver, and great hoods likewise furred with miniver after the manner of prelates; and the said knights had on the left shoulder a double knot of white silk, with white hanging tassels. And the Duke of Lancaster departed on that Sunday, after dinner, from the Tower of London, to come to Westminster, and, being the chief of all, had, round his neck, the device of the King of France, and was accompanied by the prince his son, four or five dukes, six or seven earls, eighteen barons, and a sum total of from eight to nine hundred knights in his company; and, then, the king was dressed in a short jacket of cloth of gold, after the fashion of Germany, and he was mounted on a white courser, and had the blue garter on his left leg. In this state the said duke went all through the town of London, with a great number of lords, each one's man wearing his livery and device, and all the burgesses and Lombard merchants of London; and all the great trades, each trade adorned and decked with its device, and the burgesses, and Lombard merchants also, convoying the said duke to Westminster, to the number of six thousand horse; and, on this day, the streets where the duke passed were covered with many kinds of decoration, and, on that day, and the morrow, there were nine taps in the street of Cheap in London, running white and red wine by several conduits, also, on the following night, the Duke of Lancaster was bathed, and, on the morrow, as soon as he rose, he confessed and heard three masses, according to his habit. On that morning, all the prelates, who were there assembled, and a great number of clergy, went in procession from the church of Westminster, straight to the palace, to bring the said king to the church; and the king, following after, and all the lords with the said king, and all the dukes, earls, and barons, had long scarlet coats, and long mantles, furred with A.D. 1399.

A.D. 1399. miniver, and large hoods, also furred in like manner; and all the dukes and earls had three hems of miniver on the left shoulder, a quarter [of a yard] long, or thereabouts, and the barons had only two, and all the other knights and esquires had coats of scarlet. Also on coming from the palace to the church there was over the duke's head a silken cloth of indigo blue, adorned with four silver sticks, and four golden sounding bells, and four burgesses of Dover carried the said canopy because it is their right; and he had, on either side, the sword of the church, and the sword of justice, and the Prince of Wales, his eldest son, carried the sword of justice, and the sword of the church was borne by Sir Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Constable of England, for the Earl of Rutland was deposed from this office, and the Earl of Westmoreland, Marshal of England, bore the sceptre. Then the duke, and the processions, and the lords, entered the said church at nine o'clock; and there was in the middle of the church a high scaffold all covered with red apparel, and in the middle there was a royal chair covered with cloth of gold; and, when the duke was come into the church, he ascended the scaffold and sat in the royal chair, and the duke was in royal state, excepting that he had no crown on his head nor cap; but presently from the scaffolding [the Archbishop of Canterbury showed[1]] the people how that God had given them a man to be their lord and king. And the archbishop asked the said people, if every one was willing that he should be consecrated, and crowned king, and they all answered with one voice, "Yes," stretching forth their hands towards him and promising him fealty and homage. After this had been asked, and answered, the duke descended from the scaffold and came to the altar to

[1] This suggestion is from the reading in printed text of Froissart and in S.

be consecrated. To consecrate King Henry, there were A.D. 1399.
two archbishops and six bishops; and there before the altar he was stripped of the royal state, quite naked to the skin, and there was openly anointed and consecrated in six places, that is to say, on the head, the breast, the two shoulders, and the two hands; then a cap was put on his head, and, whilst the duke was being anointed and consecrated, the clergy chanted the litany, and the office which is said in blessing a font, and he was then dressed in church robes, as a deacon, and then they put on shoes of scarlet velvet, after the manner of a prelate, and afterwards he had spurs put on without points; and thereupon the sword of justice was drawn from the scabbard and delivered to the king, and the king replaced it in the scabbard, and there in the presence of every one the Archbishop of Canterbury took down the said sword; and then the crown of Saint Edward was brought, and the said crown was formed in the shape of a cross, which was blessed, and then the said archbishop set it on the king's head. After mass was said and heard, the king left the church in the said state, and there outside the church were mounted on chargers the Constable of England, the Marshal, and the Lieutenant-Constable, who cleared the way before the king to come to the palace; and in the centre of this palace there was a fountain which gave out white and red wine by several jets; and then the king entered the hall and retired, and soon after he came into the hall to dine, and the first table was that of the king; the second, that of the five peers of England; the third, the table of the Londoners; the fourth, of the new knights; the fifth, of the knights and esquires of honour who chose to sit there; and the said king had at his side the Prince of Wales his son, who held the sword of justice, and below him the Marshal, who held the sceptre, and at the king's table there were

A.D. 1399. only two archbishops and ten bishops; and in the midst of dinner there came a knight named Dymock, fully armed, mounted on a horse, covered in mail, and caparisoned in scarlet. And the said knight was armed for battle, a knight carrying his lance before him; and the said knight had a naked sword on one side and his dagger on the other side; and he delivered a letter to the king which was read in these words: "If there be knight, esquire,[1] or gentleman, who will "say or maintain that King Henry is not the rightful "king, made so for cause, he [the challenger] is ready "to do battle with him, in the presence of the king, "or whenever it shall please the king to name a "day." And the king had it cried by herald at arms in six parts of the said hall; but no one appeared. And when the king had dined he took wine and spices in the said hall, and then retired, and all the people departed thence, each one going to his house, or wherever he had to go. Thus passed the day of the coronation of King Henry, who remained that day, and the night following, and the morrow, at the Palace of Westminster.

How the Earl of Huntingdon was reconciled with King Henry and made peace on behalf of the Earl of Salisbury. CHAPTER II.

YOU must know that the Earl of Salisbury was not at these solemnities and was in a very bad position, for he was kept shut up in prison with good guards over him, and the king's council and many of the nobles of the country and the Londoners wanted to have his head cut off publicly in the street of Cheap in London, and they said that he had well deserved it, inasmuch as he had put himself forward to carry letters of credence on behalf of Richard of Bordeaux

[1] The word *estrangier* in A. is *escuyer* in printed texts.

into France to the king and the lords of France; and A.D. 1399.
he had said, and borne testimony, and set abroad, that King Henry was false and wicked; all saying that this crime and misdeed was not to be pardoned, but demanded a very cruel punishment. King Henry, who was wise and discerning, was not inclined to put him to death so soon, but took some pity on him, for the earl excused himself that what had been done was done by order and command of the four knights above named who had been beheaded. The king believed the excuse soon enough, but those of his council would not listen to it, and they said, and so did the Londoners, that he should die, for he had well deserved it; and so the Earl of Salisbury remained in prison in great peril of his life. Sir John de Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, who was at that time warden of Calais, grieved very much for his brother King Richard, who had been taken and put in prison in the Tower of London and sentenced to pass his life there, or wherever else it might please King Henry and his council, and had resigned the kingdom, the crown, and the whole government to Henry of Lancaster as King of England. The Earl of Huntingdon, whatever annoyance or displeasure he might feel about King Richard his brother, considered the times and what had happened, and saw that he alone against the power of England could not help it; and the countess his wife also, who was sister-german to King Henry, said to him when he had returned to England: "My lord, "you must let pass your anger well and wisely, and "do nothing by which you may take harm, for my "lord the king my brother can do you much good; "and then you see that all the country inclines to "him, and if you show him any ill-will you are lost; "so do you dissimulate over this matter, I beg and "counsel you, for King Henry is quite as much your "brother as King Richard was; then stay by him,

A.D. 1399. " and you will find him a good and ready friend, for " there has never been in England a king so rich as " he is, and he can do you and your children a great " deal of good." The Earl of Huntingdon understood well the words which his wife had said and explained to him, for he was sensible enough, and he believed them and listened to them; so he betook himself to King Henry his brother-in-law, did homage, and promised him his fealty, loyalty, and service; and the king received him, and was greatly rejoiced thereat, so that afterwards the Earl of Huntingdon was able to do so much through the good friends and power which he acquired, and so importuned the king, that the Earl of Salisbury was heard and all his excuses received, and he was pardoned all that he had done ill about his journey to France, and returned into the good graces of King Henry and the country. Now we will leave this matter for a little, and return to the Lady de Coucy, who was going back to France.

How the news of the capture of King Richard was known in France by the arrival of the Lady de Coucy, and how the King was angered thereat. CHAPTER III.

WHEN the Lady de Coucy had landed at Boulogne she hastened her business as much as possible and set out for Paris, and already there were rumours in France in many places about the events which had happened in England, for many things were known about them through Lombards and merchants of Bruges; but when the Lady de Coucy, who was in England with the young Queen Isabel, was returned to Paris all the real truth was known. The lady, when she arrived, went as was right to the house of her husband the Lord de Coucy, who was one of the household of the King of France and one of the highest; and the news came to

Saint Pol in the king's hotel that the Lady de Coucy was come. Then men-at-arms and ushers were despatched in the morning to seek and ask after the Lord de Coucy,[1] who knew the news from England through my lady his wife, who had returned the day before, and these messengers and ushers hastened in suchwise that the Lord de Coucy went to the king, who asked the knight of the state of England, of the king, and of his daughter. The knight did not dare to conceal anything, but told him all that his wife had informed him of. When the King of France heard this news it was very displeasing to him, for he knew the English to be harsh, severe, and strange; and the said king of France, who for a long time had been in good health, relapsed from anger into the malady of madness, whereat the barons of France, his brothers and uncles, and many others, were much angered, but they could not help it. The Duke of Burgundy said, "This was an unreasonable marriage; and truly I "spoke of it when it was being treated for, and "brought about, but I could not get a hearing. The "Londoners never quite liked this King Richard, and "all this mischief comes from and is engendered by "the Duke of Gloucester. Now we must look about "and see how the English wish to act, since they "have taken their king and put him into prison, and "they will kill him, for they never loved him; and "because he was not warlike, but peaceful, they have "crowned the Duke of Lancaster king, who will give "himself up to greatly gratify[2] them, and, whether he "wishes it or not, will do all they wish." Then many A.D. 1399.

[1] That night there had been play at his hotel, so he did not come so early as the king and the lords would have wished, that they might hear news from England and know of the state of King Richard and the young queen Isabel his wife. As soon as he was come he entered the chamber of the king, who asked him about the state of England. S.

[2] This appears to be the better reading.

A.D. 1399. speeches were made, and many views were advanced, how the men of Bordeaux would act, for he was born there, and they loved him much, as did also the men of Bayonne, Dax, and of the heaths of Bordeaux. "It "would be well" [said the Duke] "if the Constable "of France, Sir Louis de Sanxerre, were notified of "it, and were to go to the frontiers thereabouts, and "had with him Sir Ragnault Despaigne, le Barrois "des Barres, and other barons and prelates who were "skilled in negotiation; and if my brother of Berry "were to set off[1] and go to the frontiers of Banites,[2] "Blavres, and Mirabel, by which means, if the men "of Bordeaux were willing to listen to our proposals, "they might be welcomed, for we must have them "now or never."

How the Londoners had news of the murmurs of the people of Bordeaux and Bayonne, and how they provided a remedy. CHAPTER IV.

THE words of the Duke of Burgundy were listened to, and it was ordered as he proposed. Indeed he well understood the matter, and had in thus speaking a good and clear apprehension, for when the people of the city of Bayonne, of Bordeaux, and Dax heard that their lord was taken and put in the Tower of London, and how his council had been executed, and Duke Henry of Lancaster crowned king, they were much amazed, and could not at first believe that so great a misdeed had happened in England, but little by little such news came that they clearly saw that it was all true. Then these three cities closed their gates, and allowed no man, knight or esquire,

[1] *Into Poitou* in printed texts and in S.

[2] *Frontiers of Saintes, Blayes and Mirabel* in printed texts.

to enter or go forth, and they were very melancholy, A.D. 1399.
especially those of the city of Bordeaux, for King Richard was born and brought up among them, so they loved him well, and whenever the people of Bordeaux came to him he received them sweetly and joyfully, and was disposed to grant all their requests and wishes, wherefore they said when the certain news came to them. "Ah! Richard, noble king, by "God, you are the bravest of your kingdom; the "Londoners have hatched this harm and embarrass-"ment against you; they could never have loved you, "and still less since you allied yourself by marriage "with the king of France than before. This is such "a great misdeed that we cannot and will not suffer "it. King Richard, they have had you for king "twenty-two years, and now they have degraded you "and condemned you to death, for since you are in "prison and they have crowned the Duke of Lancaster "king, they will put you to death."

Thus ran the lamentations throughout the city of Bordeaux, so much so that a very valiant English knight who was Seneschal of Bordeaux wrote down and made note of all the words and expressions of regret which the men of Bordeaux, Dax, and Bayonne uttered, and how that they were on the point of turning French. These letters having been written and sealed up, he engaged a trusty servant of his and managed that he obtained a ship and equipped it for sea, which arrived with a fair wind in Cornwall. The messenger then hastened on his journey till he came to London where king Henry then was, holding a Parliament with the Londoners, who by arrangement took the letters, for they were addressed generally to the king and the Londoners, and they were opened and read, and the king and the Londoners took counsel thereupon; but I should tell you that the Londoners answered them as people who were in

A.D. 1399. nowise dismayed. "It will never be that the people "of Bayonne, Bordeaux, and Dax will turn French- "men, for they could not live in their danger, nor "could they bear their tricks; they are and remain "with us freely and at their ease; but if the French "were to rule them they would be taxed and retaxed "two or three times a year, which thing they have "not been accustomed to, and it would be too hard "to begin now. Added to this, these three cities are "enclosed, and surrounded by great lords who are "good and loyal Englishmen and have ever been so, "as the Lord of Pommiers, the Lord of Mucident, "the Lord of Douras, the Lord of Landuras,[1] the "Lord of Rosem, the Lord of Landurem,[2] and many "other barons and knights, through whom they would "always have war ready to hand, nor could they issue "or sally forth from their homes without being taken, "so withal that the Seneschal has written to us in "confidence,[3] we make no doubt that they would "never turn Frenchmen, nevertheless we will send "men of valour and prudence, and one whom they "love and know well, for he formerly governed "them, and this shall be Sir Thomas Percy." As they proposed, so they did, and Sir Thomas Percy was requested and ordered by the king and the Londoners to go on this journey and to attend to the business of the said country. Sir Thomas Percy made no refusal, and arranged to depart as soon as possible, but it was about Christmas time when the sea is rough and tempestuous, so he made his preparations in good order in Cornwall for the nearest port of Bordeaux, and there were of his retinue two thousand men-at-arms, and four thousand archers. In his company were Sir Thomas Percy his

[1] *The seigneur de Chepane* omitted in A.

[2] *Languerem* in printed texts.

[3] *In confidence* in printed texts.

nephew, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Colville, A.D. 1399.
Sir William Lisle, Sir John Grailly, natural son of the Captal du Buch, Sir William Drayton, Sir William Daubrecicourt, and Sir John [Daubrecicourt], and many others, the Bishop of London, and Master Richard Rohalle; and they waited till the middle of March before they embarked.

At this time, before the English lords came to Bordeaux, the Duke of Bourbon arrived in the city of Agen to treat with the people of Bordeaux, and he did so well by fine speeches and good promises, that the councils of the cities of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Dax sent men to the city of Agen, where the duke honourably received the messengers and with ornate language and stuffed full of promises gave them to understand that if they would submit themselves to the King of France he would grant them all that they wished, and whenever they came to Paris or any other place of France, all their requests should be immediately complied with, and he promised them many things, so that they answered that on their return to the above-named cities they would lay before the councils and the people thereof what they had heard from him, and they would advise and deliberate on what should be done thereupon. In this state the people of Bordeaux returned to their countrymen, to whom they pointed out and declared what pertained to the matters of treaty between them and the Duke of Bourbon, which were broken off and came to nothing, for the commonalties of the cities above named considered their affairs, and how that the kingdom of France was vexed and harassed with taxations, hearth moneys, and all kinds of villainous exactions by which money could be extorted or got, and they spoke thus:—"If the French "ruled over us they would hold us to these usages;

A.D. 1399. " it is far better worth our while to be with the " English, who rule us freely and generously, than " to submit ourselves to subjection to the French; " and if the Londoners have deposed King Richard " and crowned King Henry what matters it to us? " We have always got a king, and the news is " abroad that the Bishop of London and Sir Thomas " Percy will be presently here, who will let us know " the truth. We have more commerce in wines, wools, " and cloth with the English, than we have with the " French, and if we lean more naturally to the " English let us take good care that we make no " treaty of which we may repent." Thus they repented and broke off the treaties of the people of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Agen with the French, and nothing was done in the matter. Thus then the Bishop of London and Sir Thomas Percy with their cargo, men-at-arms, and archers, arrived at the harbour of Bordeaux, whereat many, who wished to live in their former state, rejoiced, while some others were angered who would have been well pleased to advance the cause of the King of France; and these English lords together took up their quarters in the Abbey of Saint Andrew, and when they saw their opportunity they laid before the commonalty of Bordeaux the state of England, and the reason why they had come over, and they succeeded so well that all were appeased and contented at Bordeaux, and equally so in Dax, Bayonne, and elsewhere; so these cities and all the dependencies of Bordelois remained English, and it would have taken a great deal to make them French.

How the King of France sent Sir Charles de Labrech and Sir Charles de Hangiers to England.
CHAPTER V.

IT was considered and advised in France in the hotel of the king (inasmuch as he was seen to be in great grief and anger at what had happened to King Richard of England, his son-in-law), that he should send certain eminent and prudent nobles to England to see and inquire into the position of the queen; and Sir Charles de Labrech and Sir Charles de Hangiers were requested and charged to go there, who willingly obeyed the king's command, so they settled their affairs and departed from Paris, and journeyed on till they got to Boulogne, where they stopped, for they had sent on a herald to King Henry, because, although there was a truce between France and England, they did not like to put to sea without safe-conducts. King Henry, who felt himself much beholden to the King of France, consulted his council, at which it was conceded, and answered the French herald that it was the good pleasure of the king and his council that the two French knights should come to England by the direct route, and not go elsewhere, save by leave. The herald returned to Boulogne and told his lords what he had obtained for them, which pleased them greatly, for otherwise they could not have gone. So they embarked and sailed with so favourable a wind that they arrived at Dover, where they found one of the English king's knights, whom he had sent there to receive and entertain them, which he did very honourably; which knight they had formerly seen in Paris with King Henry, at that time Earl of Derby, so they were the sooner on good terms with him; they were well and honourably lodged in the town of A.D. 1399.

A.D. 1399. Dover, where they remained till they and their horses were refreshed, and then rode on to Canterbury. And wherever they stopped their charges were paid on behalf of the King of England, whom they found at Eltham and his council with him, and the king gave them a very good welcome for love of the King of France, to whom he felt himself greatly beholden. Sir Charles de Labrech informed King Henry why they had come there, to whom the king made answer, "Do "you go on to London, and I shall be there within "four days, and I will hold a council there, and you "shall have a reply to what you ask." This answer sufficed them, and they dined that day with the king, and then mounted their horses and rode on to London, the king's knight being always in their company, who entertained them liberally and never left them, but was always with them.

The king came to London, as he had promised, and took up his abode at the palace of Westminster, of whose arrival the French knights were notified; so they made preparations to attend when they should be sent for, and when they came, the king's council was quite prepared with the reply that was to be made to their demand; they said that they were sent thither by the King of France, and the queen his consort, to see and visit the young Queen of England their daughter, when it was told them, "My lords, we "do not wish to prevent you from seeing her, but "before you do, you must swear and promise us in "sufficient manner, that you will not speak yourselves, "nor let any of your people speak to her, of any-"thing that has happened in England, or of Richard of "Bordeaux, or on other matters; and if you do, you "will bring on yourselves the great anger of the "country, and place yourselves in great peril of your "lives." The two French knights replied, that they would in no way break the order that was made, and

that, as soon as they had seen and spoken with her, A.D. 1399.
they would be satisfied and turn back.

After this they had not long to wait before the Earl of Northumberland brought them to Havering-atte-Bower,[1] to the young Queen of England, who was then there, about whom were the Duchess of Ireland, daughter of the Lord de Coucy, the Duchess of Gloucester and her daughters, who were in attendance on her, with other ladies and young ladies of Essex. The Earl of Northumberland brought the lords of Hangiers and Labrech to the young Queen of England at her said place of residence, who received them graciously and sweetly, and asked about her lord her father and her lady mother, how they were. The knights answered that they were very well, and they discoursed together very leisurely, but they kept well to what they had promised, for they never opened their lips to speak of King Richard, and when they had done what they came there for, they took leave of the queen and returned to London, but did not remain there longer than to arrange their affairs, their expenses being, as has been said, defrayed throughout, and they departed from London and came to Eltham, where they dined with the king, who caused fine jewels to be given them, and then they took leave quite amicably. And the king said to them at their departure, "Boldly "tell all those who sent you here that the Queen "of England shall suffer no ill or inconvenience, "but shall always have a large and well ordered "estate as befits her, and be in enjoyment of all "her rights, for she ought neither to know nor to "feel the changes that have taken place."

With these words from the king's mouth, the knights were greatly satisfied, and they took their departure at once and came that day to Dartford, on the morrow

[1] The reading in A. (*Hauringes le Louvre*) is clearly a mispronunciation.

A.D. 1399. to Ospringe, and the next day to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and thence to Dover, but wherever they came or stopped, they found all paid. At Dover the French knights took leave of the officers of King Henry, embarked and sailed to Boulogne, and hurried on till they came to Paris, where they found the King and Queen of France, to whom they related all that you have heard, and what they had accomplished. And these things remained in this condition concerning the affairs of England of which we will now speak a little.

How some English lords raised an army for the destruction of King Henry, and the deliverance of King Richard. CHAPTER VI.

MANY were the arguments and contentions in England by the nobles and councils of the cities and large towns to the end that Richard of Bordeaux might be put to death,[1] because none thought more about him, for he had well deserved it, as they said among themselves. To all these points and questions, King Henry, who had compassion on him, made answer, saying that he would never consent to his death, and that his being in prison was punishment enough, pointing out that he had given such assurance, and that he would keep strictly to his promise. But those who wished to injure him, said to the king, "Sire, we see well "that speaking and touching on this point moves "you to pity, but you are making a very perilous "charge for yourself, for as long as he is alive, "although he has very quietly resigned the Crown of "England to you, and all have received you as king,

[1] *Might be put to death* in printed texts and in S., not in A.

" and have taken the oath and done homage, it is impos- A.D. 1399.
" sible but that there should be some in this country
" who love and have loved him, who will soon rise
" up against you if they see any chance of his de-
" liverance, and the King of France also, whose
" daughter he has married, is very wroth at what has
" happened to him, and would willingly provide assis-
" tance if he could find some good means, and his
" power is great with the alliances which he might
" have in England." To this King Henry answered, and said, " Until I see the contrary, and the
" King of France or any other wishing to take part
" against me in his behalf, I shall not move from
" my purpose, but keep my promise to him." Thus, as you have heard, did the king reply to those who pressed him to put King Richard to death, but it was not long before he found himself deceived, as I shall truthfully relate. You have read heretofore how the good Bishop of Carlisle and other prelates were given in charge to be kept in prison to the Abbot of Westminster, who promised to keep good watch over them, and to surrender them to the king, when it should be his good pleasure to have them again. It happened that one day the king dined and kept great state at Saint John's in London, and it was the eighth day after Christmas in the year 1399, on which day many great lords of England assembled, who came to dine with the Abbot of Westminster privately in his chamber, and there after dinner they had several secret discourses as to finding means of delivering King Richard from prison, and replacing him with the queen his wife in their regal state, of which lords the chief was Sir John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the noble King Richard, secondly, the Duke of Surrey, Earl of Kent, thirdly, the Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Rutland, and with them were the Earl Despencer, the

A.D. 1399. Earl of Salisbury, and the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury named Walden.[1] There also were the Abbot of Westminster and the good Bishop[2] of Carlisle, and a scholar named Magdelain, who had been chaplain to King Richard, whom he resembled as much as anybody could resemble another in every feature, as well as in his speech, and there was also a very noble English baron named Sir Thomas Blount. They together had a secretary, to whom they gave directions and whom they caused to put in writing all that they had proposed to do, and then the letter being written it was read before them all; and they promised and swore altogether on the body of our Lord, which was there in the ciborium, to be good and loyal one to another and not to betray their secret nor to fail one another neither for fear of death or torture until they had placed King Richard again in his regal majesty, and destroyed King Henry and his children; and they sealed the letters of these covenants with their seals, and there was none of them who had not one [of these letters] in order to be the more sure of one another. Then for the manner in which they might achieve their enterprise, they agreed that, to bring it to a successful end, they should cause to be proclaimed a joust of twenty knights to await all comers; and the festivity was to be held at Oxford,[3] to which they should invite King Henry and kill him sitting at table, for they would be so provided with men of their party that they could very well do this; and they further resolved that they would cause Magdelain, who so much resembled King Richard in all his features, to be dressed up and habited in royal habit, and then they were to give out to the people that good King Richard was liberated and replaced in his estate,

[1] *Bauduin* in A. for *Vauduin* [Roger Walden].

[2] *Abe* in A.

[3] *Asquesuffort* in A.

and they should send word of their actions to the King of France, who would at once send them great assistance through the sea-ports. All that these lords had proposed they did, for they established the joust of twenty knights against all comers, which was proclaimed to be held at Oxford on a day named. After this festivity had been proclaimed, and all arrangements made, the Earl of Huntingdon came to Windsor, where King Henry held state, before whom he humbled himself very much, as one who would by soft words attract him to this festivity, and earnestly besought him to go there, which request the king, not thinking but that all was well, easily granted, whereat the Earl of Huntingdon was much rejoiced and he did not remain long at court after the said request was granted, and on his return he met the Canon of Robessart, to whom he said: "Canon, prepare "thyself to come to our festivity. I promise thee, if "I meet thee in the lists at the joust, that I will "give it thee well, or thou shalt me." And Sir John de Robessart answered, "By my faith, my lord, "if the king goes to your festivity I shall not fail to "be there." At which reply the earl shook his hand, saying "Thank you," and passed on. Many English knights and esquires, to whose knowledge this festivity had come, got themselves ready and prepared their body and horse armour to go there, and in the city of London men of all trades were very busy, as the affair required. Now approached the day assigned for this meeting, wherefore the Earl of Huntingdon made known to the Earl of Rutland by his letters how he had been to the king at Windsor, with whom he had done so well that he was taken in so as to be at this meeting. When the Earl of Rutland had looked into these letters he put them in his sleeve with the letters of their conspiracy, to which there were six seals hanging, and in this state, not thinking on what A.D. 1399.

A.D. 1399. might happen, went to dine with the Duke of York his father, and as he sat down at table placed the letters on the seat next him. The duke his father espied these letters and the seals, and asked his son what letters they were which he had placed there. "My lord," said the earl, "these are not letters which "in any way concern you." Then the duke said, "Now give them to me, I wish to see them." And then the son, who did not dare to disobey the command of his father, gave the letters up to him, which the duke read throughout, and when he had seen their contents he looked at his son fiercely, turning very red, and then examined the seals one after the other, by which he ascertained all the conspirators, and then he hastily commanded his horses to be saddled, and said to his son, "Ah! wicked robber, "thou wert a traitor to King Richard before, and "now wouldst be traitor to King Henry thy nearest "cousin; know, disloyal perjurer, that I have bound "my body and my lands in full Parliament, and I "perceive clearly that thou wouldst cause my death, "but, by Saint George, I would rather thou wert "hanged." Then without waiting for more, the Duke of York mounted his horse to go to Windsor to King Henry to tell him this news and to show him the letters which he had taken from his son. And immediately the Earl of Rutland, who was strong and young, to prevent his father's undertaking, took horse and hurried on so that he came to Windsor a good while before his father, and when he was inside the gate he dismounted, took the keys from the porter, and closed the gate, then went up into the hall, where he saw the king walking about, before whom he knelt with the keys in his hands, crying out for mercy. Whereat the king, greatly astounded, answered and said: "Fair cousin, you have done me no wrong that "I know of." Then the Earl of Rutland told and re-

lated to the said king the whole affair and enterprise abovesaid, and how he and his children were to be treated with those of his Great Council, and how King Richard and his wife were to be liberated and placed again in possession of the kingdom as they had been before; "and for this my most dread lord, "for the offence committed by me against your royal "majesty I cry you mercy, and do beseech you of "your benign grace to pardon me therefore." Then King Henry said to him: "Fair cousin, if I find that "what you have told me is true it will be forgiven "you, but if I find the contrary rest assured that "you will repent it." When these things had thus been done and said the Duke of York arrived in the hall and presented his son's letters to the king, who took them and saw hanging from them the six seals, and when he had read them he found the thing to be true as the earl had revealed it to him. Then without saying another word he commanded eight horses only to be saddled and brought to him, which was done. Then the king himself mounted the eighth and took the road to London, and met the mayor, who was coming to him as quickly as he could ride, to tell him the news how that the rebel knights were in the field with eight thousand fighting men; wherefore King Henry hastened on till he came to the Tower of London, where he entered by a back door, which was not usually opened, went into the Tower, and had some angry words with King Richard, addressing him without making him any reverence or salutation with great arrogance: "I have saved your life, which I had "much trouble to do, and now you would have me "murdered by your brother, my brother-in-law, and "his accomplices, the Earl of Kent your nephew, and "the Lord Despencer, but it was ill for you when "you ordered all this." King Richard excused himself very hard, saying as God should help him he A.D. 1399.

A.D. 1399. knew nothing of this, and did not expect ever again to have any greater state than he had, and that it was quite sufficient for him, and so the matter remained at this point. King Henry departed from the Tower and took up his quarters at Saint John's, where that night he gave order that next day very early they were to bring to Richard of Bordeaux a black horse, a black robe, and black spurs; and commanded that in this manner he should be taken to the Castle of Pomfret to be kept there in prison according to his orders.

How King Richard was taken out of the Tower of London and brought to Pomfret. CHAPTER VII.

WHEN the morrow came very early King Richard was made to rise and dress, and they brought him the black horse, and made him put on the black robe and put on the black spurs; then they told him that King Henry had commanded and ordered that he was to be taken elsewhere to be kept in prison, and Richard answered very humbly that it was well. Then the esquire, who had the charge of conducting him, caused him to put on the habiliments which have been mentioned, wherefore King Richard asked him the reason of this black clothing, and what they wished to do with him, and who they were who were to conduct him. "Most dear lord, they will "be those of the land of Kent, the very same "who have taken care of you up till now." Then the king, looking about him in a piteous manner, cried out: "Virgin Mary, Saint John be my help, I "see quite well how it is, they look upon me as "dead since they give me for keepers those who "hate me most in the world." Then he said to the esquire: "Go, tell Henry of Lancaster from me, that I

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" am and have always been a good and leal knight, A.D. 1399.
" and that I never did any wrong nor forfeited my
" chivalry, and tell him if he wishes me to ride out
" and hunt let him send me apparel fit for a good
" knight, or otherwise I will not go out nor mount
" horse." Then he who had brought the black clothing went in haste to King Henry, to whom he gave the message in the manner that you have heard; whereupon the King had a splendid dress and gilt spurs delivered to the esquire, and also a sword, a horn, and a boar-spear, commanding that the horn should be hung round King Richard's neck, and the boar-spear given to him to carry in his hand, so that he might not be recognised by the people of London, and that it should not be known what had become of him. The esquire at the command of King Henry brought to King Richard the apparel such as you have heard, and he put on the robe, fastened on the gilt spurs, and himself took the horn and hung it round his neck, mounted his horse, and took the boar-spear, and then set out from the Tower of London, accompanied by those who had to conduct him, and rode through the city of London in the guise of a forester or poacher, and finally they brought him to Pomfret Castle, where he was piteously murdered, as you will afterwards hear.

How King Henry assembled his men-at-arms to thwart the enterprise of his enemies. CHAPTER VIII.

KING HENRY, who, the day before, had spoken with King Richard in the Tower of London, as you have heard, and had caused him to be brought to Pomfret to be kept in prison, considered that, according to the news which had been related to him by his cousin the Earl of Rutland, it was his business to look to his

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A.D. 1399. affairs, so he sent for the Mayor of London to come to him with all his most special friends, to whom he related the state of the whole affair and how it was going on, whereat the Londoners were much surprised, and said to the King: "Sire, you must send for your "men and provide against the troubles before they "multiply any more. We have made you king, and "king you shall remain, let who will dislike it, or "may wish to injure you." The King immediately caused letters to be written with all speed, and messengers and heralds were set to work to rouse up the knights, esquires, and mercenaries, and he wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, his constable, and the Earl of Westmorland, his marshal, and to all the knights and esquires in Essex, in Lincoln, and everywhere where he thought he had supporters, and so all those who were sent for came to the King as soon as they could.

How the conspiring lords conducted themselves, fearing to be accused and discovered. CHAPTER IX.

THE above-named earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, with others of the confederacy, seeing that there was no news nor appearance of anybody coming to their festivity, even those who had promised, feared that some one of the conspirators had accused them, suspecting especially the Earl of Rutland, of whom they had no news since he had been written to, so they took counsel together that they should ride on toward London, passing by Windsor, where they thought to find King Henry and his court. They took the field, about four hundred lances and six thousand archers, taking the road towards Windsor, and marched on till they arrived there, and entered the castle, where they found not a soul, excepting the porter who had the charge of it; but if they had

come four hours sooner they would have found there A.D. 1399.
King Henry with only his family, and they were very sorry when they saw that they had failed ; whereupon they took their road, drawing towards the outskirts of London, saying amongst themselves that it could not be but that there were some Londoners who loved King Richard and would go over to their party. They came towards Collenbrun [? Colnbrook] and took up their quarters that day at Brentford, which is seven miles from London, but never a Londoner went over to them, but they remained in their city. When the lords of the conspiracy saw how things were, they broke up their camp in the morning, and went to take up quarters at Saint Albans, a large town and abbey, where they stayed one day, and on the morrow they marched to Berkhamstead,[1] and they went about the country and caused it to be given out to the common people everywhere they passed that this Magdelain whom they brought with them in regal state was King Richard. They came to a town which is called Cirencester,[2] in which was a bailiff of King Henry's, a prudent and wise man, in whom he had great confidence, to guard well the town and the surrounding country. And when these three earls and the Lord Despencer were come to Cirencester, they took up their quarters there, and remained one night, peaceably enough, for the bailiff was not strong enough to fight them, so he dissembled as well as he could. When it was morning, the Earl of Salisbury and the Lord Despencer parted with the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, saying that they would ride still further to get many men to their side, and they went to see the Lord of Berkeley and to scout along the river Severn, but they were badly advised to leave one another, for by that means they became weaker.

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[1] *Bermstatel* in A.

[2] *Succestre* in A.

A.D. 1399. The Earl of Huntingdon, who had remained at Cirencester, wished to treat with the bailiff of the town and the inhabitants, so he told them that King Richard was liberated, and that they should see him within two days; but the bailiff, who well knew the contrary, withdrew to his home, and kept himself there without coming to any agreement or obeying these lords, wherefore the Earl of Huntingdon and his accomplices were much angered, and repented of having so soon let their men go. These lords then, who were quartered in the best hostelry in the town of Cirencester, where they thought themselves quite safe, that is to say, the Duke of Exeter, Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Surrey, his nephew, Earl of Kent, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Despencer, who had returned from their journey, and also a very noble English baron called Sir Thomas Blount, and Magdelain, whom they were passing off as King Richard, and another knight named Sir Bennett [Seely],[1] were all quartered together, but the greater part of their men were encamped in fields, because they could not get quarters in the town, and they were left there without any order or commander, which was great folly on the part of these lords, for truth to say, all the flower of English Chivalry was there. When the Duke of Surrey, who had quartered himself in the town with his uncle the Earl of Huntingdon, knew the answer of the bailiff of Cirencester, which was very unfavourable to them, he, thinking he could manage better, sent for this bailiff to come to him, and commanded him to get together the greatest number of men-at-arms and bowmen possible, to aid and succour King Richard, which men he was to cause to come at break of day, as well infantry as cavalry.

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[1] This name is supplied from the *Chronique de la traison et mort du roy Richart d'Engleterre.*

Of the great slaughter which took place at Cirencester. How some of these lords escaped, and some were cruelly slain. CHAPTER X.

WHILE these things were happening, there arrived, A.D. 1399.
in the hostel of the above-named lords, an archer of King Henry's bodyguard, who was accustomed to lodge there, who had a fire lighted in a room apart; but the Duke of Surrey being informed of his coming, entered the room, where he found him sitting before the fire, and asked him from what place he came. The archer, who recognised him, replied: "My lord, I come from "Wales, whither I had been sent by King Henry." At these words the duke tore off the device of the said king which the archer wore, and threw it into the fire, saying, "Behold what I do in contempt of "Henry of Lancaster, and thou, traitor, comest to be "a spy over us, but thou shalt be dragged hence and "hanged." Then the bailiff of Cirencester, who was present, begged the duke and the lords that the archer might be delivered over to him to have him hanged, and he was given up to him, and he brought him into his house, where he made him good cheer, and then the archer said to the bailiff, who was called Constable, because he had the government of this part of the country for King Henry: "My lord, I "beseech and require you, on the part of our lord King "Henry, that you keep these lords and altogether detain "them, until the king be informed thereof," which the Constable willingly agreed to do, for he had previously intended to do so; wherefore he secretly assembled the bravest men of the town, to the number of forty-eight archers, with whom he entered the hostel where the lords were quartered, and, approaching the Duke of Surrey, said: "My lord, I lay my hand on you,

A.D. 1399. " on behalf of King Henry, ordering that none of " you leave this hostel until you have all had speech " with King Henry." Then the duke, much inflamed with anger and rage, rose to his feet, and gave the Constable a buffet, saying: " Villain, how art thou so " bold and false as to presume thus! by the faith " which I owe to Saint George, the day is coming " soon when thou wilt be hanged and strangled. " Villain, look thou here on thy sovereign lord King " Richard, how canst thou be so outrageous as to do " this in his presence! Beg for mercy of the king." The Constable, feeling himself insulted, struck the Duke of Surrey on the face, and then commenced a disturbance and quarrel between the people of the town and the strangers. " Up, up," said the Constable to his men and to the common people, " I " command you, on behalf of King Henry, to help " me to take all these lords, his enemies." Then commenced the fight, and the archers began to draw swiftly, and the Duke of Surrey was wounded by an arrow, and the Earl of Salisbury and some other lords were killed fighting. But the Earl of Huntingdon, King Richard's brother, the Earl of Gloucester, the Lord Despencer, and Magdelain, seeing the people of the town thus aroused, and that there were not enough men of their party to resist, rushed out of the hostel by a window, and set fire to the town in three or four places, thinking that the townspeople, in order to subdue the fire, would quit the fight and combat in the said hostel where the lords were in great danger, for the stairs were so narrow that they could only defend themselves with two in front. When the Earl of Huntingdon and his companions saw that the townspeople took no heed of the fire, but continued fighting to capture or kill them, they got out of the town as well as they could, and went where they thought to find the main body of their

men, but they had fled, retreating towards Scotland, A.D. 1399.
dismayed at the great tumult and affray which they had heard in the town, believing that King Henry had arrived there. The said Earl of Huntingdon found his steward outside the town with about twelve horses and quitted the kingdom, but afterwards went into Essex.[1] The Lord Despencer went towards Wales, and Magdelain towards Scotland, and all the others who remained in the town of Cirencester defended themselves bravely, and, spite of the townspeople, held their hostel till the next morning about eight o'clock, when they were obliged to surrender; and there were taken there Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Bennett Seely, and fully twenty other lords, who were all bound together and sent on foot, trotting behind their horses, which the townspeople rode. Then the people cut off the heads of the Duke of Surrey and another great lord, and carried their heads on two large poles, with the intention of bringing them as a present to King Henry.

Of the ordinance of King Henry, when he had set out from London to attack his enemies. Chapter XI.

You have heard heretofore how King Henry, when he knew of the army which the above-named conspirators had raised, and how they had taken the field, caused a proclamation to be made in the city of London that all who had been used to arms should come, and put in writing a promise well and loyally to serve King Henry, and that they should be paid for fifteen days, each man-at-arms eighteen pence, and

[1] Compare the passage at the commencement of Chap. 13.

A.D. 1400. each archer ninepence a day. When they were all ready, the king left London to lead his men on the field, and sixteen thousand men were paid on the Epiphany,[1] the sixth of January in the year 1399, so that at ten o'clock they should be ready to go against the enemy; but know, that at this hour there were but fifty lances, and six thousand archers, in his service. On arriving on the field, he began to make his dispositions, waiting for his mercenaries, and it was full three in the afternoon before they began to come up, whereupon King Henry said to the Earl of Warwick: "Sir Thomas, I wonder very much that "our cousin of Arundel, your brother, lingers so." Then the Earl of Warwick said to him: "Sire, if you "had listened to the advice of your Commons, and "the decision of the Parliament of London, you would "not have had any need of this expedition." "Why, "fair cousin?" said King Henry, "ought I to have "put to death him who never did me any wrong, "nor deceived me? You know too, that I was not "yet king, so had not opportunity to cause his "death; but, by the faith which I owe to Saint "George, if perchance he has escaped from the place "where I had sent him, and had joined with the "others, and I can meet him on the field, I will slay "him, or he me. I have no fear of the French or "Scotch, but I do fear the Flemings, by whom he "was much loved." The said King Henry very hurriedly ordered the Mayor of London to return to the city, to make proclamation on his behalf, and in like manner he sent throughout England, especially to the ports and harbours, that, under pain of the halter, none should leave by sea, and that they should allow no one to leave the country, until the repeal of the present edict; and the king's command was complied

[1] Le jour des Roix.

with, and proclaimed everywhere where it was neces- A.D. 1400.
sary. Just at this time the Lord Fitzwalter arrived, mounted on a very fine charger, and armed in a very fine suit of armour, carrying the banner of the Londoners, which is *argent* with a cross *gules*, and he had with him eight thousand horse. Then King Henry, seeing those men of London, said, smilingly: "Welcome, my good friends from London!" for he was greatly rejoiced at their arrival; and ordered wine to be brought; and when he had drunk, he gave his cup to the Earl of Warwick, saying: "Drink to "me, cousin, I hope that, to-day, we shall have a good "fight against our enemies."

The manner of King Richard's death. CHAPTER XII.

VERY soon after these doings, King Henry called to him one of his esquires, named Piers d'Exton, whom he ordered to go, without delay, to release Richard of Bordeaux from this world, for it was meet that what was ordered by decree of Parliament should be performed. This gentleman, ready to obey King Henry's command, took leave of him, and carrying with him eight big ruffians, strong and bold men, took the road to Pomfret, where he knew King Richard was prisoner. When he arrived there he dismounted in the inner court of the castle, and called the keeper of the place, to whom he showed the letters from King Henry, containing the charge which he had to perform. Then the castellan, wishing to carry out the royal command, answered Sir Piers d'Exton, that he could put his charge into execution, and pointed out to him the tower in which King Richard was a prisoner, and was at that hour sitting at table at dinner. Sir Piers d'Exton being come there, caused the esquire carver of King Richard to be called, whom he forbade, on behalf of King Henry, ever henceforth to be so

A.D. 1400. bold, as he valued his life, as to carve or taste the food before the said King Richard of Bordeaux, saying that he was to let him eat alone as he would, for he would never eat again after this once. When the esquire heard Sir Piers speak thus he returned in great terror to the room, where the king generally dined, who, as was said, was sitting at table and waiting for his esquire to taste and carve before him, as he was accustomed to do. The king, who was not eating, looked at his esquire, and said to him: "What is "the news, why do you not do your duty?" "Sire," said the esquire, "I know no other news, "excepting that Sir Piers d'Exton has arrived here; "I don't know what news he brings." Then King Richard told the esquire to carve him something to eat, and to taste before him as he was accustomed, and as belonged to his office. Then the esquire fell on his knees before the table, crying to King Richard for mercy, beseeching him humbly, for the love of God, that he would pardon him, for he had been forbidden, on behalf of King Henry, to do so any more. Whereupon King Richard, much vexed and full of anger, seized one of the knives which were on the table, and, throwing it at the head of the esquire, said: "Cursed "be Henry of Lancaster, and all the traitors of his "confederacy." At these words Sir Piers d'Exton with seven men came in to the said room where King Richard was sitting at table, and there was not one of the eight who had not an axe in his hand; but when King Richard saw them thus enter his room, armed and provided with cudgels, he threw the table on the ground and leaped into the midst of them all, and rushing on one, whose axe he snatched from him, began to strike out on all sides, and he did so much by his great prowess and bravery that out of the eight he slew four. Sir Piers d'Exton, seeing the king's great prowess, jumped towards the bench, on which

he mounted, axe in hand, while the king was de- A.D. 1400.
fending himself against the three other murderers in so marvellous a manner that they were all afraid of him, and it happened that the king fell back against the bench on which was the traitor, of whom he was taking no heed. Sir Piers seeing the king at a disadvantage, swung up the deadly axe and struck the king such a prodigious blow on the head with it that he felled him to the ground. Then the noble King Richard, feeling that it was his death blow, cried to God for mercy, and the wicked knight jumped down from the bench and gave the king another heavy blow again on the head, whereof he died instantly, which was a shameful murder and a great dishonour to the English who were participators in and consenting to it. Then Sir Piers d'Exton, who had slain the king, as you have heard, sat down beside the dead body, weeping very tenderly, and saying, "Alas, what have "we, this day, done? so cruelly to murder the noble "king our sovereign lord, whom for the space of "twenty-two years that he has ruled over us we "have kept for our king. Well may I curse the hour "that I was born of my mother, for this day have I "dishonoured myself and all my lineage. The time will "never be so long, as I am in this world, when I "shall cease to be reproached with it." Thus, as you have heard, did Sir Piers d'Exton make his complaint, but it was too late. Afterwards, the body of King Richard, in order that everyone might know that he was dead, was placed on a chariot covered with black cloth, with four banners, one at each corner of the car, of which two were of arms of Saint George and the two others the arms of Saint Edward; and there were a hundred men all dressed in black, each bearing a torch in his hand before the chariot, and in this state they brought the body to London, from which place of London thirty men all dressed in white went

A.D. 1400. before the body, and in this state they brought it to the church of Saint Paul, the chief church of London, where it remained all that night until the morrow, when it was brought on the said chariot to the street of Chepe, the chief street of London, where they halted for more than two hours, and more than twenty thousand persons came to see it, for it had the visage uncovered so that it might be looked upon and recognised by all. Some felt pity, seeing him thus, while others did not, saying that he had well deserved death. This thing happened in the year of grace 1399,[1] the 12th day of March. Now consider, ye kings, dukes, princes, and lords, and all people of high degree, how astonishing are the fortunes of this world, and how variously they turned on this King Richard, who in his time reigned in great prosperity twenty-two years as King of England, and as to keeping up state and honour they say in England they never had a king who surpassed him, spending in his house alone near one hundred thousand florins every year; and besides he was a very free giver, no one went away from him without having some gift. He was mild, compassionate, and merciful, and if his counsellors had resembled him this ill fortune would never have befallen him, for if they had advised him loyally, as he had great confidence in them, he would have reigned King of England peaceably all his life. When the said chariot, on which the king's body was, had been in the street of Chepe for more than two hours, it was moved forward, and they went out of the town of London, the four knights behind, who conducted it to a little village quite near to Pomfret, where they interred the body of King Richard in a little church, in which he remained until the death of King Henry, his slayer, when King Henry his son, the fifth of that

[1] The year is imperfectly given in A.

name, caused him to be brought to Westminster, where A.D. 1400.
that King Henry had a very magnificent tomb of brass made [for him] with his first wife, who was the daughter of the King of Bohemia.

We will now go back to speak of King Henry, who after he had given orders for putting to death his cousin-german and sovereign lord King Richard, set out with the intention of fighting his enemies, and that night lay at Windsor, at which place the Constable of Cirencester and the townspeople in his service came to him, where they presented to him the head of the Duke of Surrey and another head of a great baron which they had fixed on the ends of two poles, and they also presented to the said King Henry a great crowd of barons and knights, with esquires in great number, all prisoners; and King Henry was lodged in a Carmelite convent, when these presents were made to him, at which he was greatly rejoiced. Then King Henry gave orders to Sir Thomas Erpingham that all the prisoners that were taken at Cirencester should be executed according to justice, except one young knight whom King Henry had dubbed with knighthood on the Saturday before his coronation, whom the king, because he was still young and of noble lineage, pardoned for his offence. Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Bennett Seely, and four other great barons, were all six drawn from the town to a gibbet, more than two full leagues off, and were there hanged, but not quite strangled, for the ropes were instantly cut; then a great fire was made, round which they caused these lords to sit down on a seat. The executioner then came, knife in hand, and fell on his knees before Sir Thomas Blount, praying him that for God's honour he would pardon him his death, for he was obliged to do his office. Then Sir Thomas Blount asked the executioner: "Friend, art thou he who is to deliver me

A.D. 1400. " from this world?" " Yes, sir," said the executioner, " which lies heavy upon me, and I beseech you to " pardon me;" and the good knight immediately embraced the executioner in forgiving him his death. This executioner held in his hand a fleam and a knife, and knelt down between the fire and the knight, unbuttoned his dress, and then laid open his belly below the navel and drew out the bowels from his body, then cut the bowel underneath the stomach, which he bound with a very strong cord so that the air should not enter the body; and when this was done he cast all these bowels to burn in the fire, and Sir Thomas Blount, sitting with belly open and gaping before the fire, looked most piteously at his bowels burning. Then Sir Thomas Erpingham, in derisive manner, asked him if he was very comfortable, saying that he had sent for a master who well knew how to cure him. Whereupon Sir Thomas Blount, raising his hands to heaven, cried out, half dead, " Te Deum laudamus; " blessed be the hour that I was born, as well as the " hour of this very day that I die and can receive " torment in the just quarrel of my sovereign and " rightful lord the noble King Richard." At which words the said Sir Thomas Erpingham, at that time chamberlain of King Henry, asked Sir Thomas Blount: " Who are the lords and knights on your side?" and the good knight, with belly all open, answered: " Thou, " Erpingham, art a false traitor, which I never was." " Thou liest," said Erpingham. Then Sir Thomas Blount swore by the death which he was suffering that he never at any time of his life had spoken ill of prince, duke, earl, or knight, esquire, or any other person unjustly, " but thou speakest these false thoughts " as a false traitor must do; for by thy false and " traitorous will the noble chivalry of England is to- " day destroyed: cursed be the hour that thou wert

" born. This day I pray for mercy of God my A.D. 1400.
" Creator, beseeching that He will vouchsafe to pardon
" my sins: but thee, traitorous Erpingham,[1] I summon
" on the day of judgment before the face of Jesus
" Christ, and thee also, Earl of Rutland, for the trea-
" sons which you both have committed against your
" sovereign lord King Richard and his noble chivalry."
After this, the executioner asked Sir Thomas Blount if he wished to drink. "No," said he, "for I should not
" know where to put it:" then he begged the executioner to deliver him out of this world, for he saw with pain these traitors before him. Wherefore the executioner threw himself again on his knees before the knight, praying that he would pardon him his death, whereat the good knight kissed the executioner on the mouth, saying, "May God pardon thee, I willingly
" pardon thee;" and then the executioner cut off his head. And in like manner was it done to Sir Bennett and the others, and they were afterwards quartered, and their limbs sent to divers places throughout the good towns of the country, and the other knights and esquires who had been taken with them were executed in Oxford Castle. These executions being carried out, as you have heard, King Henry, in order the better to please the London people, sent them a most lamentable present, that is to say, the heads of the Duke of Surrey, Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Bennett, and other great barons, and also twelve noble men all prisoners, which gift was very acceptable to the Londoners, who came forth to receive the present with a great array of trumpets and minstrels going first, after whom came the Archbishop of Canterbury with eighteen bishops and thirty-two abbots, all mitred and vested in the robes which they wore at church in celebrating divine service, who all came to meet the said present sent

[1] *Conte DOrpeheu et DOstreland* in text.

A.D. 1400. by King Henry, singing "Te Deum laudamus," and evincing great joy; and on entering the city the people cried out with loud voice, "God save and bless King "Henry and my lord the prince his son." Thence the archbishop went to Saint Paul's, the chief church, where he himself and the other prelates again sang the "Te Deum," and afterwards he preached a very notable discourse. On the morrow King Henry entered London, where he was magnificently feasted, and dismounted before Saint Paul's church, where he made his orisons and offerings, and on the day of his entry all work ceased in the city. And all the prelates of the kingdom came to do him reverence, again singing the "Te Deum" as they had done on the preceding day, and the archbishop gave the king holy water. Which being done the king stopped quite still, saying to the prelates: "By Saint George, it is a fine thing to see "you altogether, provided that you are all good and "loyal friends one with the other. There are cer- "tainly traitors among you, but I swear to God and "to Saint George that I will uproot all the bad trees "in my garden, and plant there such herbs as shall be "good and wholesome for me;" and saying these words he departed from the church and went to his hostel. When the morrow came the king went early to the procession, at which were all the prelates and clergy of the city, and when he had gone halfway round he stopped very quietly, and said loudly and clearly: "My "lords and friends, I thank you for your goodness and "the great honour you have done me, for which I shall "ever be greatly beholden to you, especially to the "people of London, and therefore I promise you that "henceforth you will find me a good and true lord, "and I swear and promise to you that neither his "highness my grandfather King Edward, nor my uncle "the Prince of Wales, ever went so forward in France "as I will do, if it please God and Saint George, or I

" will die in the attempt." Then on every side the common people and all who were present cried out with a loud voice: "God save the noble king our " sovereign lord, the noble King Henry, and God bless " the noble prince his son." A.D. 1400.

How the Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King Richard, was taken and miserably put to death. CHAPTER XIII.

THUS, as you have heard, King Henry and the Londoners were feasting and enjoying themselves, but the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter, brother of the deceased King Richard, and Sir Thomas Saielle, who had been his steward, a very valiant and brave knight in his time, seeing, as you have before heard, how the townspeople of Cirencester had used the Duke of Surrey and the other noblemen, departed from the town, where the earl found his steward and eleven men, and together with them took the road to Scotland,[1] and arrived at a little town where the Countess of Arundel,[2] sister of the Earl of Arundel who had been beheaded in London at the great Parliament, was then living. The Duke of Exeter, Earl of Huntingdon, and his attendants quartered themselves in a hostelry where, formerly, he had been wont to stay when he was passing that way. Then the Countess of Arundel,[3] knowing that the earl with his household was in the town, secretly sent to her constable to assemble all the commonalty to take and seize the Earl of Huntingdon, brother of

[1] The word *Escoce* in A. is probably a mistake for *Excesses* (Essex), see Chapter X.

[2] Joan Countess of Hereford, sister of the Earl of Arundel and mother-in-law of King Henry, seems to be meant.

[3] See above.

A.D. 1400. King Richard, and all those who were with him, for she wished to take vengeance on him for the death of her brother, which was done just as she had ordered, that is to say, the said Earl of Huntingdon and three of his knights were strongly bound and brought before the countess. And you must know of a truth that at that time they did nothing in England but watch all the ways, whereby at last were taken the greater part of the barons, knights, and esquires who were on the side of King Richard, which was very pitiable to see, nor did they know whither to flee without being forthwith challenged, as there was not a passage where there were not men appointed to take them prisoners. Now, then the Duke of Exeter being thus taken, the Countess of Arundel[1] wrote to King Henry, who was then at London, all that had happened, and that he would be pleased immediately to send the Earl of Arundel, his cousin, to see vengeance taken for his father, for her intention was to have the said Earl of Huntingdon hanged and drawn. King Henry rejoiced at the news when he had read the letter, called for the young Earl of Arundel and said to him: "Fair cousin, do you go " and see your aunt yonder, and bring me all the " prisoners she has there, dead or alive." At which embassy the Earl of Arundel, much rejoiced, mounted his horse and made such haste that he came to the town where his aunt, the Countess,[2] was, who had collected around there more than eight thousand peasants, all armed and supplied with weapons, and she caused the noble Earl of Huntingdon to be brought before them to put him to death, but there was certainly no one in all that company but what had pity on him, for he was a very fair prince, tall and straight and well formed in all his limbs, who was

[1] See note on p. 43.

[2] *Duchess* in A.

there before them with his hands bound. At this A.D. 1400.
very hour the Earl of Arundel arrived at the place and saluted his aunt, and seeing there present the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter, he spoke thus to him: "My lord, what say you? Do you not repent " that by the advice of yourself and others, my lord " my father was put to death, and that you have so " long held my land, and, besides, have wickedly " governed my sister and myself till by very poverty " I have been obliged to depart from the kingdom of " England, and if it had not been for my cousin of " Clarence I should have died of want. And thou, " villain, dost thou not remember how I have often " taken off and cleaned thy shoes when thou hadst to " taste before King Richard, and thou treatedst me " then as if I had been thy drudge? But now the hour " has come when I will have vengeance upon thee;" and then he caused the earl to be brought in front of the line of townsmen that they might kill him. The Earl of Huntingdon seeing himself in this position and looking piteously on those who were going to kill him, said to them: My lords, have pity on me, for " I have never done ill in anything to any of this " country." And there was none of them who would have wished to do him any harm, or who felt not great pity for him, excepting the Earl and the Countess of Arundel, who said to her men: "Cursed be ye all, " false villains, who are not brave enough to put a " man to death." Then there drew near an esquire of the lady and of the Earl of Arundel, who offered himself to behead the said Earl of Huntingdon, and the countess ordered him to do it forthwith, so the esquire, axe in hand, came forward and throwing himself on his knees before the Earl of Huntingdon, said: " My lord, pardon me your death, for my lady has " commanded me to deliver you from this world." Then the Earl of Huntingdon, who had his hands

A.D. 1400. bound, fell on his knees and spoke thus to him who had asked him pardon for his death: "Friend, art thou "he who is to put me out of this world?" "Yes, "my lord," said the esquire, "by the command of my "lady." And the earl said to him: "Friend, why "dost thou wish to take away the life which God "has given me? I never did harm to thee or thy "lineage, and you can see very well that there are "here seven or eight thousand persons or more of "whom there is none who wishes to harm my body "excepting thee. Ah! my friend, why canst thou find "it in thy heart and thy conscience to slay me?" Then the earl began to weep a little, saying, "Alas! "if I had gone to Rome when our holy father the "Pope sent for me to be his marshal I should not "have been in this danger, but it is too late. I pray "God to pardon my sins." When the esquire had heard the piteous words of the Earl of Huntingdon, such dread took possession of him that he began to tremble, and turned to the countess, weeping, and said to her: "My lady, for God's mercy, pardon me, for I "will not put the Earl of Huntingdon to death for "all the gold in the world." Then the lady in great anger said to him: "Thou shalt do what thou hast "promised, or I will have thine own head cut off." Whereupon the esquire, hearing the lady, was very dismayed, and returned to the Earl of Huntingdon, saying, "My lord, I pray of your mercy pardon me "your death." Then the Earl, throwing himslf on his knees, spake thus: "Alas! is there no help for me but "I must die? I pray to God and the Virgin Mary "and all the saints of Paradise to have mercy on me." Then he said to the esquire: "My friend, I pray thee "despatch me," at which words the squire swung up his axe and struck the earl such a blow with it that he fell to the earth badly wounded on the breast and face, but directly the esquire had withdrawn the axe

the earl sprang to his feet saying, "Man, why dost A.D. 1400.
"thou this? for God's sake deliver me quickly," and then the esquire gave him eight blows with the axe before he could strike home on his neck. Then said the earl again, "Alas! why dost thou thus?" and then the esquire drew a little knife with which he cut the throat of the Earl of Huntingdon. And then the Earl of Arundel caused the head to be put on a pole. And afterwards the knights who were taken with him had their hands bound as had the other prisoners whom the Earl of Arundel caused to run on foot after him till they came to London, where they arrived on the Monday the 9th of January, about the dinner hour, and the Earl of Arundel entered London, his trumpets sounding and minstrels before him, and between the said Earl of Arundel and the minstrels came the said prisoners and those who carried the head of the Duke of Exeter, Earl of Huntingdon. The Londoners showed great joy at this adventure, and cried along all the roads and streets where they passed: "God save our noble King Henry and his "highness the prince, his son, and all their noble "council." On this very day there arrived in London the Earl of Rutland, who, in like manner, was having borne before him the head of Lord Despencer likewise set up on a pole, his trumpeters and minstrels before him, and a cart in which were twelve prisoners bound hand and foot, who were all sent to the Tower of London, and right behind came the said Earl of Rutland with a great force of men-at-arms, and so he guarded the prisoners to the Tower. If I were to relate to you at length, word for word, the cruel deaths and tortures which were wrought by command of King Henry on the men and servants of the noble King Richard it would be pitiful to hear it, for as soon as it was known who were or had been adherents of King Richard he had them put to a wretched

A.D. 1400. death; and to conclude, thus matters went on in the kingdom of England.

News then spread throughout the country that King Richard was dead, and nothing else had been expected for a long while before, for it was well known and understood by all manner of people that he would never come out of the Castle of Pomfret alive. Nevertheless, his death was kept secret and concealed so far as concerned the Queen, his wife, for it was commanded and ordained that she should not yet be told, and this order was well and wisely observed. Of all these events they were well informed in England from one end to the other, and also in France, wherefore all the knights and esquires who were accustomed to serve in the wars kept along the frontiers and were only waiting for orders to take the field. However, the councils of both kings as well for one kingdom as for the other, considered it best that the truce should be kept, and that it would be more profitable for both parties than war, and negotiators met, as I shall tell you, in the Marches of Calais, and forasmuch as the King of France was not in a good state of health and had not been since the day when he was made acquainted with the tribulations and sorrows of his son-in-law, Richard of Bordeaux, King of England (and his illness redoubled when he heard of his death) the Duke of Burgundy on the French side was more concerned about the matter than any other, wherefore he came to Saint Omer, and at Bourbourg were the Duke of Bourbon, Sir Charles de Labrech, Sir Charles de Hangiers, and Sir John de Chastel-Morant, and of the prelates of their party there were there the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Bishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Auxerre. And on the side of the English there were the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry de Percy, son of Sir Thomas de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and

Sir John Fitz-Warin; of the prelates there were the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Ely. The French proposed to have back the young Queen of England, while the English would not hear of restoring her, but said that they would willingly keep her in England on her dowry, and that if she had lost her husband they had provided for her another, handsome, young, and noble, to whom she might well incline, for Richard of Bordeaux was too old, and he whom they spoke of would suit her well. This was the Prince of Wales, eldest son of King Henry, to which proposal the French did not agree, nor would they ever have passed it without the advice, order, or leave of the King of France, her father, and he was not in a good condition but very weak in health, and no physician could be found who understood his malady. So this overture came to nothing, and the affair of the truce was resumed, and so debated that by the advice of both parties and by common agreement a truce was sworn to last for twenty-six years and the four years that it had already endured, making thirty years, in such and the like manner as the first ordinance declared, and of these matters letters were written and sealed by those who had authority by good proxies of the two kings, which things being thus done and achieved, every one returned to his place. A.D. 1400.

I have not yet told you what became of the Earl Marshal, through whom all these troubles had happened in England, but I will now tell you. He was at Venice when the news came to him that Henry of Lancaster was King of England and Richard of Bordeaux dead, which things he took so much to heart that he took to his bed, and was taken with a dreadful madness of which he died.

Thus, as you have heard, happened these troubles and mischances to the greatest lords of England about

A.D. 1400. the year of grace 1400,[1] and also Pope Benedict, whom the French had, with great good will, set up and sustained, was at this time deposed, and likewise was the Emperor of Germany for his misdeeds dismissed from his empire, for the Imperial electors and all the princes and barons of Germany made a crusade against him and sent him back to Bohemia, of which he had previously been king, and elected a distinguished and wise man to be Emperor of Germany, who came from Bavaria, named Robert, Duke of Heidelberg, who came to Cologne, where he was crowned with the crown of Germany, for the people of Aix would not open their gates to him,[2] nor would the Duke of Gueldres come to do him obeisance, wherefore he remained under his indignation, and then this new king promised to re-unite the church. Nevertheless, the King of England did not meddle in the affair, but the King of France and his council negotiated with the people of Liège who were inclined towards the Pope of Rome, and they effected so much by the means of Sir Baldwin de Montjardin, who governed in part the whole bishopric of Liège and who was a knight of the King of France and his chamber, that all the country turned neutral on account of the said King of France, and the men of Liège sent word to all the clergy on their side who were at Rome that within one day of this order they were to come back to the frontiers of Liège or they would lose all their benefices, and they on this news, wishing to obey the command, all returned to Liège. Pope Boniface, who lost so much by this change, sent a legate to Germany to preach to the men of Liège and bring them back to submission to

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[1] 1399 in printed texts and S.

[2] The reading here in S. is: *closed against him and were for sending him back to Bohemia, wherefore, &c.*

his pontificate, but the legate did not dare to pass Cologne but sent letters to Liège, which were read, and then it was said to the messenger: "Do not "return hither for such things under pain of being "drowned, for so many messengers as come in this "behalf we will throw into the Meuse." And thus for this time the men of Liège remained in their perverse and wicked obstinacy. A.D. 1400.

How the King of France behaved when he knew of the death of King Richard, and how he sent ambassadors to England to the Council to get back the queen his daughter. CHAPTER XIV.

THE King of France and his council knowing of a truth of the death of King Richard of England and the manner thereof held several councils to find means how he could get back to him his daughter Queen Isabel, the said late King Richard's widow, who he felt was very lonely and unhappy in the hands of those who had caused her husband to be miserably murdered, wherefore in order to get her back again he sent several distinguished ambassadors to King Henry, and in like manner the said King Henry sent to the King of France to treat for the marriage of his son the Prince of Wales with the said lady Queen Isabel, but to this marriage the princes and great council of France would in nowise assent, for the reason chiefly that King Charles was indisposed, and thus the ambassadors of England, who had been sent into France, returned, without having done anything, to King Henry their lord, who took it in bad part, but nevertheless he could not help it, and was obliged to put up with it. Notwithstanding this the King of France and his council ceased not to continually persevere

A.D. 1400. through his ambassadors to King Henry to negotiate with him principally that he might send back Queen Isabella his daughter, and moreover would let her enjoy and possess the dowry, which had been promised her by the agreements about her marriage. Which ambassadors, after several conferences, at length came to the conclusion that the widowed lady should be taken back across sea to France by Sir Thomas de Percy, then Constable of England, and with him many English knights and esquires, ladies and young ladies, to accompany the said Queen Isabella, whom they brought and conducted to a village which lies between Boulogne and Calais, which is called Lolinghem, and there she was delivered over, and given into the charge of Count Walleran of Saint Pol, then Captain of Picardy, with whom were the Bishop of Chartres and the Lord of Longueville[1] to receive her, and there were also Mademoiselle de Montpensier, sister of the Count of Marche, and Mademoiselle de Luxembourg, sister to the said Count of Saint Pol, and other ladies and young ladies sent by the Queen of France, which French lords and ladies after they had taken leave of the English lords and ladies departed thence, and brought Queen Isabella to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who with a large and noble suite awaited her on a hill near by, where she was most honourably received and welcomed by them. They then conducted her to Boulogne, and from thence to Abbeville, where the Duke of Burgundy prepared a magnificent banquet for her welcome, after which the noble duke took leave of her and returned to his country of Artois, while the Duke of Bourbon, together with the others who were charged to do so, brought her to Paris to the king her father and the queen her mother, who most kindly received her.

[1] *Hongueville* in S.

Nevertheless although she had been very honourably sent back, as has been said, no rents or revenues were assigned to her for her dowry, for which the king and all the Princes of France were not well pleased with the King of England, and the French were very desirous that the King of France might incline himself to go to war with the English. A.D. 1400.

Here ends the fifth book of this fourth volume, and the sixth and last follows.

HERE BEGINS THE SIXTH AND LAST BOOK OF THIS FOURTH VOLUME, WHICH CONTAINS THIRTY-ONE CHAPTERS. IN THE FIRST IT TREATS OF THE REASON WHY DISSENSION AROSE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND THE LORDS PERCY AFTER THE DEATH OF KING RICHARD. CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1402. AFTER the death of King Richard and [after] Sir Thomas de Percy, then Constable of England, had by order of King Henry escorted beyond sea Queen Isabella, widow of the late King Richard, and had given her into the hands of the French lords, as is above contained, the said Sir Thomas being returned into England to the said King Henry, news came how that the Earl of Douglas, a Scotchman, accompanied by a great force, had entered England, where he was doing much damage. Wherefore, the king ordered the said Percy his constable [with a] large army to stop the incroachment of the said Earl of Douglas, and the constable having this charge made such diligence to pursue his enemies that he found and gave them battle, in which he remained the victor, and took prisoner the said Earl of Douglas, whom he brought to his own country, where he placed him under good guards. When King Henry knew that the Earl of Douglas was a prisoner, and that his army had won the battle, he sent a pursuivant to the said Sir Thomas de Percy to order him to send the Earl of Douglas to him in the town of London, to whom the said Percy replied that the Earl of Douglas was his prisoner and not the king's, and that he would not send him, but that he would himself go in a little

while to him to make his excuses. The king was A.D. 1402.
much disturbed at this answer, and bethought himself how he could be revenged on the said Percy, forgetting the good services received by him from the said Percy and his relations and allies, for as has been said above the Earl of Northumberland, father of the said Sir Thomas, with the aid of his children and allies had been the principal cause of the deposition of King Richard, of the rise and glory of King Henry under certain promises which King Henry made him to provide for them and advance them to great offices in the kingdom, of which he performed nothing. The said Sir Thomas de Percy about six days after the departure of the pursuivant betook himself to London to the king, who when he was about to do him reverence and excuse himself demanded very haughtily if he had brought him the Earl of Douglas, to which the said Sir Thomas answered that he had not, and that he was his prisoner in his own country, at which speech the king got very angry and gave the said Percy a heavy box on the ear, upon which Sir Thomas departed without taking his leave, mounting his horse and returned to his house, and complained of this insult to his father and his brother John de Percy, the Earl of Exeter, his uncle,[1] and his other friends, and prayed them that they would help him to be avenged, who all together promised him aid and comfort, saying that as they had been the means of raising up King Henry, they would take the trouble to oust him and drive him from the kingdom.

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[1] *Returned to his country, where on arrival he made complaint to his father, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir John de Percy, his brother, and Sir Thomas de Percy, Earl of Worcester (Orcester), his uncle, and his other friends, praying, &c.*, S.

How King Henry discomfited in battle the Lords Percy and their allies. CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1402–3. THIS resolution being taken by the party of Percy, they sent for all their friends and allies in every place where they thought themselves beloved to serve them in their need, and then went into the country of Wales without giving any sign of their intentions, and there found some great lords of the country, who they knew were of the party of King Richard when he was living, and had taken a great hatred against King Henry, telling these lords that if they liked they would help them to drive out of Wales all those who were in castles and towns on the part of King Henry, and to replace their rightful heir of the principality of Wales in possession and the other lords in their patrimonies from which they had formerly been driven out by King Edward the Second[1] of this name, who had disinherited them and annexed the country of Wales to the Crown of England. These Welsh lords hearing the Percys speak in this manner were rejoiced, for sooth to say the Welsh never naturally loved the English, for they thought themselves more noble by extraction than the English, for that they issued and descended from the ancient Britons, who formerly held all Great Britain, which now the English occupy, and which as in this history is above contained in the first volume a great prince named Hengist conquered from the Britons, and repeopled with divers nations, that is to say, with Saxons, Germans, Flemings, Picards, Normans, and other people, and thus was the country called England from Hengist, which name has remained to it to this day.

[1] Should be *Edward the First.*

So then to return to our history, the men of Wales, very glad of the alliance made and agreed upon with the Earl of Northumberland and the Lords Percy, asked that letters of this alliance might be made, written, and sealed with the seals of both parties, and moreover the more firmly to maintain this alliance they swore and promised on the Body of Our Lord to keep these agreements unto death. These matters thus passed, each one on his side sent for friends, followers, and allies round about, and the lords of the principality of Wales assembled their power and appointed day and place for assembling in one army in order to take the field. The Earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas de Percy, and Sir Henry went into their marches, and sent into Scotland to the Earl of Douglas, on whose account, as you have heard, this ill-will had arisen, who in like manner sent for all his friends, who came in great numbers, for the said Lords Percy had delivered him from prison, foregoing his ransom that he might aid them. At length all these lords assembled in Northumberland, where they found themselves to number twenty-four thousand stout archers, and two thousand lances, who were always multiplying and increasing, and who all together and in good order took the field, where they commenced raising fires and putting to the sword all those whom they knew to be opposed to them, and who were not on their guard, for the enterprise was so sudden and kept so secret, that if King Henry had not had private friends who advised him of it secretly, the thing would have gone badly for him, and he would not have been able or known how to prevent being totally undone, and driven from his kingdom, or taken prisoner or slain. But as soon as these Lords Percy with the Welsh and Scotch had joined together and entered the country, messengers came to London from all sides and related to King Henry the great evils A.D. 1403.

A.D. 1403. and injuries which the said Lords Percy and their allies had already done, and continued doing. Then King Henry, very uneasy at this event, sent for his council, at which there appeared all the dukes, earls, barons, bishops, abbots, and dignitaries who were in London, who all with one common voice said to the king: "Sire, there is no need of long councils, but it "behoves us truly to provide for the most necessary "thing. Send word and cause it to be published "throughout all parts that every one is to take up "arms and come to you, and do you yourself take "the field so that every one may follow you, and "command all constables and marshals to see to it, "to have this news diligently published throughout "all the towns and cities of your kingdom, that "everyone round about may follow you furnished "with provisions and munitions as pertain to such "cases, and follow you day and night, and come to you "wherever you may be." This council being thus held as had been said and decided, King Henry and the princes who were with him made their preparations and took up arms, and the king and they departed, the Londoners being in his company, and when the king found himself in the country he made his dispositions of vanguard, main body, and rear guard, of whom he delivered the command to those whom he thought proper and worthy to undertake it. He in person led the main body, the Duke of York, his uncle, being with him, and the young Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Rutland, and many other great lords. In the vanguard were the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Exeter, the Earl of Somerset, the Lord de Ros, and many other great barons, and in the rear guard were the young Duke of Surrey and many wise and distinguished knights, and when they were all assembled they numbered fully twenty-six thousand archers and three thousand men-at-arms, but

at last there were more than sixty thousand men. A.D. 1403.
Then King Henry seeing himself ready, and in such force, gave command to the marshals of his army and to his constable to make ready to march, which they did. At this moment there was such a great noise and cry of trumpets and clarions, and neighing of horses, that it was horrible to hear, for the mountains resounded with it in such a way as was deafening, and the roads were so covered with men, chariots, and horses that at more than two leagues away the noise and uproar could be heard so loudly that it was terrible. At last the king and his army so hastened their march that they came up within half a day's march of the enemy. When the Lords Percy knew that King Henry was so near they set their order of battle, and when they were ready marched forward to meet their enemies, and chose the best and most advantageous position possible, which was near Shrewsbury, where they resolved to await their adversaries, which they did. When all were ready and in order for battle the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas de Percy, and Sir Henry went from line to line to encourage their men to do well, making many exhortations to them in this manner: "Gentlemen, if the "ancient name of Briton, which formerly your prede- "cessors had, does not belong to you to-day, it will "be recovered and replaced by you, and you will "drive out this accursed English nation, and Henry "of Lancaster who has newly usurped this noble "kingdom and caused King Richard and many a "valiant knight to be put to death, which is very "lamentable and hurtful." Thus, as you have heard, the Percies exhorted their men to do well, and so encouraged them that there was not one but had his courage so elevated that he felt that none but GOD himself could injure him, and in truth, as I have been informed by distinguished men who said they had

A.D. 1403. seen knights and men of authority who declared they had seen this thing, it was an affair without equal in history. Now King Henry the night before had sent spies and runners to ascertain the comportment of his enemies, which runners brought back word to him that for certain they were quietly awaiting him in a very fine plain, but the way to enter it was very difficult for him and his forces, while it was most advantageous for his enemies, who numbered more than eighty thousand men, and among them a great body of Scotch and Welsh. Hearing this report, King Henry without any delay gave the command that all should set out in order of battle, which they did until they were within a league of their enemies, where they encamped that night until the break of day, when King Henry, armed at all points, had mass sung, and mass over, took a draught of wine, mounted his horse, ordered his line of battle, and admonished them to fight well, going from rank to rank, saying, to encourage them, how for a good cause and the common profit of all the realm he had rightly taken up this quarrel, which he did hold to be just and lawful, and that every one should put himself forward to defend his principal right; and then he ordered his banners to be displayed, namely, the banners of St. George and St. Edward, and afterwards his banner quartered with the arms of France and England. He commanded his constable to march forward his vanguard for the honour of God and St. George, which was done according to his command. And on the other side the Lords Percy, warned of the coming of their enemies, ordered forward their vanguard led by the Earl of Douglas, and then when they came in sight of each other the archers dismounted uttering a loud and horrible cry which was dreadful to hear, and then began to march at a good pace in good order against each other, and the archers to draw so fast and thick that it seemed to the be-

holders like a thick cloud, for the sun which at that time was bright and clear then lost its brightness so thick were the arrows, and this was helped by the dust which flew about together with the breath of the men who began to get heated, so that the air was quite darkened. After the arrows were exhausted they put their hands to swords and axes with which they began to slay each other, and the leaders of the advance guards striking their horses with their spurs and with lances couched struck each other. And the men and horses were slain in such wise as it was pitiable to see. None spared his fellow, mercy had no place, each one tried only to escape and put himself at the head of his party, for there was no friend or relation, but each one thought of himself, so they fought with such equality of bitterness that it was a long time before one could conjecture to whom would remain the day and victory, but at length by the prowess of the Earl of Douglas and his companions the king's vanguard was overwhelmed, so that it was with great difficulty that the Earls of Rutland and Warwick could find time or way to retreat to the main body of the king, which came riding at a great pace to succour his vanguard, which he saw was wavering and discomfited. On the other side came the Earl of Northumberland and the other Percies rejoiced and encouraged by the appearance of victory, assembling their battalions where the cry and noise were loudest on all sides, trumpets and clarions made a marvellous clamour, and it was horrible to hear the groans of the wounded, who ended their lives miserably amongst the feet of the horses. There was such a slaughter of men whose bodies lay soulless[1] that the like had not been seen in England for a long time, and those who were alive did all in their power to A.D. 1403.

[1] *Unarmed* is the reading in S.

A.D. 1403. kill each other, so that it was a horrible and dreadful thing to see, nor was there any so bold that he did not tremble with horror and fear, for as I have heard tell by word of mouth and by writing it is not found in any book of this chronicle that there ever was in the kingdom of England since the conquest of Duke William so horrible a battle or so much Christian blood spilled as in this of which we are speaking, which was a lamentable thing, for each of the parties strove hard and wished to vanquish his enemies. King Henry, who was concerned in the affair more than any other, disturbed by the defeat of his vanguard, which was thus lost, began with a loud voice to exhort his men to do well, and throwing himself into the battle did many a fine feat of arms so that on both sides he was held to be the most valiant knight, and it was said for certain that on that day with his own hand he slew thirty of his enemies, and truth to say, by his sense, prowess, and good conduct the battle was won and his enemies beaten; but he was three times borne to the ground by the Earl of Douglass, and in rescuing him many a man was slain and overthrown who never rose again, so that it can well be believed that the Lords Percy, who a short time since had had the first victory, were much dismayed, for if they had gone on with their first good fortune they would have succeeded in their enterprise, which the English much feared, and King Henry had with great trouble forced them to march forward on account of the defeat of the vanguard. Finally, the king obtained the victory and put his enemies to flight and utter discomfiture, and there were taken prisoners the Earl of Douglas, Sir Thomas de Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Henry, his nephew, whose head the king immediately caused to be struck off, and there were in like manner taken prisoners many foreign knights and esquires of Scotland and Wales, of whom some were

beheaded and others held to ransom. After this A.D. 1403.
defeat King Henry gave thanks to our Lord for his good fortune, and went off the battlefield with great joy and gladness, but first he ordered the interment of the dead and the visitation of the wounded, and this done, sent men-at-arms and archers into Wales to besiege a town which held out for the Percies, which town was quickly taken and remitted to his obedience. Having thus done and carried out these things, and set his kingdom in good order and punished the rebels, he took the road to London, where he dismissed all manner of men-at-arms in order that the country should not be oppressed nor eaten up, and retained with him only the princes and his state. When the king was a good English league from London the Mayor of London and some of the more distinguished men of the city came forward and welcomed him. Then he entered the city, where the streets were curtained in his passage, bishops, abbots, and prelates of the church came to meet him in manner of procession, singing the "Te Deum," and the people crying with a loud voice: "Welcome, noble King Henry," and "God bless his highness the prince, his son." And when he had come to the door of the church of St. Paul he dismounted, entered the church, and there devoutly offered up prayers, and having made his offering departed and embarked on the barge which was prepared for him, and landed at the Palace[1] of Westminster, where he held a very brilliant and honourable court, and whither embassies often came to him from divers princes which he honourably received and caused to be feasted by his people as is proper to be done in such cases, and at their departure made them fine costly presents. The renown of him, of his good sense, and of his prudence extended into many

[1] *Harbour* in A.

A.D. 1403. lands and divers countries. He maintained and loved justice above all things, and besides was a very handsome prince, learned and eloquent, courteous, valiant, and brave in arms, and in short was filled with every virtue such as was none of his predecessors before his time. Whereof for the present we will leave off speaking for a little until it is time to return to the subject.

Here follows the copy of the letter which Louis Duke of Orleans, brother german of King Charles of France, sent to King Henry of England to challenge him to Arms. CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1402. IN the following year, one thousand four hundred and two, Louis Duke of Orleans, brother to the King of France, sent a letter to the King of England to challenge him to arms, of which the tenor follows: "Most high and puissant prince, Henry King of "England, I, Louis, by the grace of God son and "brother of the King of France, Duke of Orleans, "write to you, and give you to know that by the "help of God and the Blessed Trinity, for the desire "that I have to obtain honour, as I believe that you "also have, looking at the indolence into which "many noble men have fallen, descended of royal "line, when they have not employed themselves in "their youth in deeds of arms in which in my "heart I desire to employ myself, I purpose at once "to begin the business of arms, for I could not more "honourably arrive thereat, so I have undertaken to "be at a day and place resolved on as well by you "as by me, each accompanied on his side by a "hundred knights and esquires, noble in name and "arms, all gentlemen without reproach, and there

" we to fight fairly, one against the other till one A.D. 1402.
" surrenders, and the one to whom God shall give
" the grace of victory on the said day shall take his
" adversary home as his prisoner, to do his will on
" him, and we will not carry anything upon us
" which savours of any charm or of invocation what-
" soever, which is forbidden by the Church, and there
" shall be no arrows used in our said fight, but each
" shall help himself with his body as God has it given
" him, armed as shall seem good to him on either side,
" having for security the accustomed weapons, that is
" to say: lances, axes, swords, and daggers, and each
" one at the best advantage as need and fitness
" demand for his defence (without having anelaces or
" big spits, bodkins, knives, or needle-pointed irons,
" or poison points, or razors) as he shall be advised
" by people acquainted with this matter, appointed
" on either side together with the securities necessary
" in this; and to bring about this desired combat
" above-mentioned I give you to understand, that
" by the aid of God, of our Lady, and of St. Michael,
" I mean to be at your disposal, accompanied by the
" number abovesaid, in my town and city of Angoulême,
" to accomplish by the aid of God what is abovesaid.
" And I think that if your disposition is such as I
" think it is to fulfil this matter, you can come to
" Bordeaux or the Marches thereabout, and we two
" will meet to carry out our combat as may be
" arranged, as well by your people as by mine,
" having full power on both sides as if we were there
" present in person. And now, most high and puissant
" lord, send me word and let me know your wishes
" in this affair to accomplish the things abovesaid, and
" be pleased to shorten the time of communicating
" your pleasure, for I suppose that you know that in
" all deeds of arms the shortest way is the best,
" especially between kings, princes, and great lords,

A.D. 1402. " warning as well by commands as by writ, that in " this enterprise all hindrances shall be refrained from " which may damage this affair, and which may be in " our power; and in order that you may know and " understand that what I have written and sent word " to you about I will by the aid of God fulfil, I have " subscribed this letter with my own hand, as a token " thereof, and have thereto set the seal of my arms. " Written at my castle of Coucy the twelfth day of " the month of August, in the year 1402 [1].

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[1] The following is in S., but is not in A. These letters being closed up and sealed, Duke Louis of Orleans sent them to England to King Henry by Orleans the herald, who found the king at his Palace of Westminster in London, where he was engaged in play together with many princes and barons, and there in the presence of all, the herald presented the letters to the king, who, taking them, caused them to be read in public in a room apart before his princes, at which letters they were all much amazed, considering the alliance which was made and sworn between them both, whereof each had letters sealed with their seals. King Henry who was wise and full of invention, had Orleans told that an answer should be given him soon. The king sent for his Council, there had the letter read again at length, and had advice on each point as to the answer, and then caused a letter to be written, and closed up, and sealed with his seal, charged with his arms, and when it was so closed up and sealed, he caused Orleans the herald to be called and the letter delivered to him and forty nobles to be given to him, and to be relieved of all expenses. The herald joyfully thanked the king and took his leave, and departing thence, went across from Dover to Calais in a short space of time, then set out and took the road to Boulogne, and from there did not stop till he came to Coucy, where he found the Duke of Orleans very eager to know the news. The herald throwing himself on his knees delivered his letters, which stated that in a few days the duke would have an answer to the letter sent by him by Champagne king-at-arms and Orleans the herald. The Duke of Orleans repeatedly inquired and asked if the king had received it gladly; they answered yes, and that each of them had had twenty nobles, and then they departed. And about four days afterwards the King of England, after Champagne and Orleans had left London, sent Lancaster his herald to France bearing the answer to the letters sent to him by the Duke of Orleans, whom he found at Paris in his hotel at Tournelles, and coming thither presented to the duke the letter which King Henry had sent him. The duke took it and read it at full length, of which the tenor follows.

The answer which King Henry made to the letter of the Duke of Orleans. CHAPTER IV.

"HENRY, by the grace of God King of England A.D. 1402.
" and France, and Lord of Ireland, to the high and
" puissant prince Louis of Valois, Duke of Orleans,
" we write and send word and have you to know that
" we have seen your letter of a request of arms,
" whereof the tenor follows: 'Most high and puissant
" prince Henry, &c.,' by the tenor whereof we are able
" to see to whom they are addressed. Nevertheless,
" for ourself, it may be understood that at what you
" have written we marvel greatly, for the reasons which
" follow: First, the truce made and sworn between
" our most dear cousin and lord King Richard, our
" immediate predecessor, whom God assoil, and your
" lord and brother which you yourself have sworn, and
" which were affirmed by your said lord and brother
" and ourself; secondly, the alliance which was con-
" ferred about between ourself and yourself at Paris, and
" also by the oaths which you delivered into our
" hands, and into the hands of our most dear and
" beloved knights and esquires, Sir Thomas Erpingham,
" Sir Thomas Rapson, and Sir John Montbury, of the
" good friendship and alliance which you promised to
" keep towards us, of which letters of alliance sealed
" with your great seal the tenor follows: 'Louis, &c.'
" Now since you have thus unreasonably commenced
" against us for the reasons abovesaid, as it seems to
" us to be sent to us by you, we will to answer you
" in the following manner, that is to say, that we are
" very willing that God and all the world know that
" it has never been, and is not our intention to go
" against or fail in anything that we have promised,

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A.D. 1402. " or on our part commenced, [1] but as you have thus
" commenced in your person against us, we pray you
" and would have you to know that the like letter
" of alliance which you have received from us and which
" we would have kept if you had kept yours, we do
" quash, annul, and reject as far as in us lies, and
" do hold as nothing this amity, love, or alliance
" henceforth, and this by your default and acquittance,
" for it seems to us that no prince, lord, knight, or
" any other, of whatever estate he be, ought to ask for
" a passage of arms under any alliance or friendship.
" Now, therefore, we set aside all our alliance and
" friendship, and answer your letter of request,
" although considering the dignity which God has
" given us, and where God hath placed us of his
" good grace, we ought not to answer on any such
" affairs except to one who is of like estate or dignity
" as ourselves, and we would have you know that
" where it is contained in your letter *that the enter-*
" *prise which you think we ought to find agreeable to*
" *achieve feats of valour considering the idleness, &c.;*
" it is true that we have not employed ourselves in arms
" and deeds of honour like our noble progenitors, but
" God is all powerful to set us to follow their deeds
" when it pleases him, who for all the idleness that by
" His good grace we have had, hath always guarded
" our honour. And as to your wish, to be in a place
" and at a day to be settled as well by us as you,
" at a spot where we should both be accompanied
" each one on his side by a hundred knights and
" esquires of good name and of arms without reproach,
" to fight till one or other gives up, we let you know
" that it has never been known before this time for any
" of our noble ancestors being kings to be so challenged
" by persons of a lesser estate than the challenged,

[1] The MS. is defective here; the necessary words are supplied from the text of the letter given in Monstrelet.

" nor that he ever employed his body in such deeds A.D. 1402.
" with a hundred persons or any other number for
" such a cause, for it seems to us that a prince and
" king ought to do all that he doth for the honour
" of God and for the common profit of the whole of
" christendom or of his realm, and not for vain glory,
" nor for any temporal covetousness; and we wish
" everywhere and in all things to preserve the estate
" which God hath given to us. We have taken a
" resolution that at such time as shall please us and
" seem most expedient for the honour of God, of ourself,
" and our kingdom, we will come in person across the
" sea accompanied by so many and such men as may
" seem good to us whom we hold to be our loyal
" servants, subjects, and friends, in order there to
" preserve our right, when if you think it reasonable
" to do so, you can put yourself forward with such
" number of men as best may please you, the better
" to acquire honour in the accomplishment of your
" courageous wish, and if it please God and our Lady
" you shall not go away without being answered in
" such wise, St. George being our help, be it by
" fighting between ourselves body to body [1] so long as
" God will suffer, which thing we desire more than
" anything else to avoid shedding Christian blood; or
" in any greater numbers. And God knows, and we
" wish all the world to know, that this our answer
" does proceed, not from pride or presumption of
" heart, nor to put to reproach any valiant man who
" holds dear his honour, but solely to lower the
" haughtiness of heart and arrogance of him whoever
" he may be who doth not know how to discern in
" what a state he is himself. Now if you wish that
" those on your side be all without a reproach, take
" better care of your letter, your seal, and your

[1] This is the reading of S.

A.D. 1402. " promises henceforth than you have done before this
" time. And because we wish you to know that this
" our answer, which we write and now send to you,
" proceeds from our certain knowledge, and that we
" will fulfil it in our right if it please God, we have
" sealed these present letters with the seal of our
" arms.

" Given at our Court of London the fifth day of
" the month of December, in the year of grace 1402,
" and the fourth year of our reign." [1]

Copy of the letter of alliance which the Duke of Orleans had made with King Henry of England at the time that he was in France. CHAPTER V.

" LOUIS Duke of Orleans, Count of Valois, Blois, and
" Beaumont, to all who shall see or hear these present
" letters greeting and love. Know ye by these pre-

[1] The following passage does not occur in A., but is found in S. These letters being seen and read at length by the Duke of Orleans and his Council, many things were said and advanced, and it was taken in bad part, but it could not be helped, and thus it was expedient to make answer in such wise that honour should remain to him who had the right, and Lancaster was told to return to his master, and that soon an answer would be given to the letter which he had brought. The herald answered, God so will it. His expenses were all paid, and he had fifty crowns given to him, and then departing from Paris, he ceased not to ride till he came to Calais, whence he took passage across to Dover. Thence he went on to London, where he found King Henry to whom he reported what he had been able to do, and told the king that in a short time he would have an answer to the contents of the letter which had been taken by him to the Duke of Orleans. The king replied, all in good time. Now, then, that you may know what alliance or promises had been made between the Duke of Orleans and King Henry during the time the latter was banished from the kingdom of England, and when he was called the Earl of Derby, he being in Paris, I will relate it to you at length, that is to say, the letter of alliance and the promises made between them which were sealed with their seals and said as follows :—

" sents that albeit there be love and affection between A.D. 1402.
" the high and puissant lord and prince our most
" dear cousin Henry Duke of Lancaster and Hereford,
" Earl of Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, and Northampton,
" and ourselves, nevertheless, we both desiring to have
" firmer friendship and alliance together, since hardly
" anything in this world can be found better, more
" pleasant, or profitable than this, in the name of God
" and of the Holy Trinity, which is a noble exemplar
" and also firm and stable foundation and perfect
" charity and friendship (nor indeed can anything
" without their grace in anywise profitably be brought
" to an end), will in form and manner that this our
" friendship be reputed honest and honourable, have
" come and do come together to make an alliance and
" confederacy in manner following:—First, each of us
" holds it right to approve that in this alliance shall
" be excepted all those who it may seem to us in all
" regard and honesty are to be excepted, and there-
" fore on our part we do except those who follow;
" first, our most high and puissant prince, my most
" dread lord Charles, by the grace of God King of
" France, his highness the Dauphin his eldest son,
" and all the other children of my said lord, my lady
" the Queen of France, my most dear uncles the
" Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the most
" noble princes my most dear cousins the King of
" the Romans and of Bohemia, the King of Hungary,
" his brother, and their uncles, and Percer Marquis of
" Moriane, and also all my nearest cousins and all
" others of my blood present and to come as well
" male as female, and our most dear father the Duke
" of Milan, whose daughter we have married, for which
" relationship it behoves us to be favourable to his
" welfare and honour, and the most noble princes and
" our dearest cousins the King of Castile and the King
" of Scotland, and all other allies of our said lord to

A.D. 1402. " whom we must adhere with him, and our most
" dear cousin the Duke of Lorraine, the Count of
" Cleves, and the Lord of Clichon, and all our vassals
" and bondsmen by fealty and oath who we consider
" ought to be protected from ill for that they have
" given themselves up to our service and commands,
" and lastly all those our allies with whom it is
" expedient and behoveth us to keep and preserve
" agreements. Also there shall always be [without]
" intermission between the Duke of Lancaster and
" ourselves the good bond of true affection and pure
" love that ought to exist between true and honest
" friends. Each of us shall always and in all places
" be friends and well-wishers one to another, and
" enemy to his enemies, so as it is expedient for the
" honour and praise of both in all times and in all
" places and in all cases, matters, and affairs each of
" us shall love, protect, seek, and defend the safety,
" welfare, honour, and estate of the other as well
" by word as by deed, diligently and carefully so far
" as can be done, honestly and honourably, and in
" time and in case of discord, quarrel, or war we
" will aid and defend each other with every desire,
" pure will, and perfect work against all princes, lords,
" and barons and all other individual persons, com-
" munity, college, or university of whatever lordship,
" dignity, and estate, degree and condition they be,
" by all ways, remedies, means, counsels, forces, aids,
" men-at-arms, armies, and other subsidies that we
" can; and each of us shall rise up against, resist, and
" combat all the adversaries, warriors, and enemies of
" the other, and to this end shall strive with all
" thought, counsel, and work, free-will and honour, ex-
" cept always as is said the above named. The things
" above said shall be done, holden, kept, and endure
" so long as the present truce made between my said
" lord the King of France and the King of England

" shall endure, and if peace is made shall last as long A.D. 1402.
" as the said peace without any infringement. In
" testimony and confirmation whereof we have caused
" these present letters to be made and written and
" our pendent seal to be set thereto. Given at Paris
" the 17th day of the month of June, the year of
" grace 1382."[1]

The second letter in reply which the Duke of Orleans wrote to Henry of England. CHAPTER VI.

HIGH and puissant prince, Henry King of England, I, Louis, by the grace of God son and brother of the King of France, Duke of Orleans, &c., write to you, send word, and have you to know that I received as a good new year's gift on the first day of January by Lancaster king at arms, your herald, the letter which you wrote to me making answer to another letter which I had written and sent to you by Champagne king-at-arms and Orleans, my herald, and I have well understood the contents of the same. As to your not knowing or pretending not to know if my said letter was addressed to yourself, your name is there which you took at the font and by which your father and mother called you during their lives. If I do not write at full length the dignity which you usurp, I do not approve nor do I wish thereby to approve of the manner by which you have come by it, but know in sooth that my said letter is addressed to you. As to what you write to me that you marvel at the request which I have made to you considering

[1] 1396 in printed text of Monstrelet. Henry was not banished until 1398 (see note, page 70), and did not become Duke of Lancaster till 1399.

A.D. 1402. the truce made by my most dread lord the King of France of the one part and the most high and puissant prince King Richard, my nephew and your liege lord, lately deceased (God knows through whom); and also as to what you say in your letter that there is some alliance between us two which you have sent to me,[1] word for word, I repeat it the better to inform those who shall see it, showing you in regard to my purpose which I then had and shall have if it please God all my life, it had been kept well enough if there had not been default on your side, first, in having attacked and gone against your liege and sovereign lord King Richard (whom God pardon) as you have done, who was allied to my most dread lord my brother as well by marriage as by writings sealed with their seals on which we of their lineage on both sides swore as appears by the letters made at the time when they assembled before my lord and yours abovesaid, you being in his company, and many others of his lineage, now you may see and understand if by my said letter of which you have sent me the copy, those who formerly were allies of my said lord be not excepted, and you may also know whether it would be a very honourable thing for me to have alliance with you now, for at the time when I made the alliance above related I could never have thought that you would have done against your king what is evidently clear and what everybody knows that you have done. And as to what you say that no prince, lord, or knight ought to demand a feat of arms without renouncing the alliances before he undertakes such matters, I know not if you re-demanded from your lord King Richard the oath of fealty which you made to him before you proceeded against his person in the manner which you have done, and before the acquittance

[1] This passage down to "your side" is very obscure.

which you make to me, according to what you answer me, of the promise which you made as appears by the letter thereupon made, which I cannot ignore, know that since I learnt of the deed which you did on the person of your sovereign liege I had no hope that you would keep any agreements either with me or with any one else, so you may think and know that I have no wish to have any alliance with you. As to the consideration which you have to the dignity that you hold I do not think that divine virtue has placed you there. God may well have hidden his meaning, as he has given to many princes to reign to bring them to confusion in the end, and I do not want having regard to my own honour to attend your person. As to what you write that for any indolence that you may have shown your honour has always been sufficiently preserved, enough is known by all countries. As to the coming which you intend across here without sending me word when or where it will be, write and send me word and I assure you that you shall have news without having to wait for any thing of all my will to do and carry out by the aid of God, if I have health, what I have written by my other letter to you. As to what you write me that your progenitors have not been accustomed to be so challenged by inferior persons to themselves, there is no need that I should be my own herald about who my own have been, and are as it is known throughout all countries, and as for me I feel myself to be without reproach, God be thanked, and have always done what a loyal gentleman should do as well towards God as towards my lord and his kingdom; he who hath done otherwise and has all the world under his hand has nothing to value himself about. And as to what you write that all that a king or prince does he should do it in the name of God for the common profit of all christendom or of his country A.D. 1402.

A.D. 1402. or kingdom, and not for vain glory or for any temporal covetousness, I reply that that is well said, but if you had acted up to it in your country in times past, many things done by you would not have been undertaken in the region where you dwell. And touching my most dread lady and niece, my lady the Queen of England, who by your harshness and cruelty has come to this country bereft of her lord whom she has lost, stripped of her dower which you keep back, you have robbed her of her substance which she had brought over with her, and which she had through her husband, who is there who seeks honour who would not put himself forward to serve her in her quarrel and sustain her part? For all nobles ought to protect the rights of wives, widows, and maidens of so good a life as is my said lady and niece, and because I belong so nearly to her as every one knows, doing my duty towards God and herself as her relative I answer you on the present point, where you tell me that to avoid the spilling of human blood, you coming across here and I being opposed to you, you will answer me more willingly [1] body to body or in a greater number, as to which you write me nothing at present, that by the aid of the Blessed Trinity, of our Lady, and of Saint Michael, your answer on these matters being known, be it body against body or power against power, doing my duty and guarding my honour, I will make you such answer indeed as is fitting in such case, and I thank you for those on my side that you have more compassion for their blood than you had for your liege and sovereign lord. As to what you have written that he who cannot discern in what estate he is himself wishes to choose persons without reproach, know full well that I know who I am and who are

[1] The following passage down to "in such case" is very obscure.

those of my company, and send word to you that you will find that we are all gentle and loyal men, and hold ourselves to be such, and we well know how please God to keep from doing otherwise than loyal noblemen and gentlemen ought to do by speech, writing, or deed, but you and yours do you look before you and write back to me your intention on all these matters which I must desire to know shortly. And that you may know that what I write and send word to you about I will accomplish by God's help, I have caused the seal of my arms to be affixed hereto, and I have subscribed it with my own hand on the morrow of our Lady, the 22nd[1] day of March in the year 1402. A.D. 1402.

The second letter and last reply which King Henry made to the Duke of Orleans CHAPTER VII.

" HENRY, by the grace of God King of France and " England and Lord of Ireland. Louis of Valois, Duke " of Orleans, we write back to you, send word, and " let you know that we have seen a letter from you " the last day of April last past which you sent by " Champagne king-at-arms and Orleans your herald, " thinking to have given an answer to our letter " received by you the 1st day of January last past " by Lancaster king-at-arms, our herald, which letter of " yours bears date the 22nd[2] day of March 1402, and we " have well considered the contents and the same. " And albeit all things considered by the especial " estate in which God has placed us we ought not to " answer to our honour to your request which you " have made to us nor to the replications given,

[1] 26th in printed text of Monstrelet.

[2] See last note.

A.D. 1402. " nevertheless, since you reflect on our said honour,
" seeing that in your first request of arms made to us
" to which we gave you an answer you pretended that
" it had proceeded from an entire desire and lightness
" of heart to acquire honour and good renown to
" begin exercising in order to practise the business
" of arms, it seems to us by your present writing that
" you have since greatly turned this your desire into
" frivolities and words of fretful disputation in defam-
" ing our person, imagining perchance that this might
" turn to our confusion, which God may well turn to
" your own and to the good right; and we are there-
" fore moved and not without cause to give you a
" reply to the principal points comprised in your said
" letter in the manner which hereafter may more
" plainly appear to you, believing and considering
" that it does not belong to our estate, nor can we
" protect our honour by disputing with you on the
" other points of frivolities full of malice, nor give
" you any answer except that all which touches our
" reproach is false. First, as to the dignity which
" you accuse us of holding, &c., which you write to
" me at length that you do not approve, and that you
" do not wish to approve of the manner in which we
" have come to it, certainly we very much marvel
" thereat, for we had constantly said and declared the
" fact before our departure from across the sea, at
" which time you approved our coming, and promised
" help against our most dear lord and cousin, King
" Richard, whom God assoil, if we wanted it. Never-
" theless, as to approbation or reproof from you in the
" matter we do not hold that of much account, for since
" God of His good grace hath approved of our right, and
" all those of our kingdom have likewise done so, it
" suffices us for all those who would wish to gainsay
" us therein that they will be wrong, trusting in the
" blessed mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath

" governed us from our childhood, and hath commenced A.D. 1402.
" well towards us, for, continuing His great mercy, He
" hath brought us to a good end, and such conclu-
" sion that you will acknowledge the dignity which
" He hath given to us and the right which we have
" thereto. As to what in your said letter you mention
" in respect of our most dear lord and cousin, whom
" may God pardon, when you say: 'God knows by
" whom,' we know not to what end and intention
" you say so, but if you mean or dare to say that it
" has been by us or with our consent, it is false, and
" will be every time you say so, and this we are
" ready with the aid of God to defend against you,
" body against body, if you will or dare to maintain
" it. And where you write to me pointing out the
" purpose you had of maintaining the alliance made
" between us two if there had not been default on
" our side by undertaking what you say we have done
" against our dear lord and cousin who was allied to
" your lord and brother as well by marriage as by
" writing sealed with their seals, and also that at the
" time when you made this alliance with us you could
" never have thought that we would have done against
" our said most dear lord and cousin what is known and
" what everyone says we have done, to this which you
" say we answer absolutely that we have done nothing
" against him but what we dare to have done before
" God and all the world. As to that which you write
" to us that we may understand and perceive by your
" letter of the said alliance, those who formerly
" were excepted, and whether our most dear and well-
" beloved cousin, Lady Isabel, your niece, was not
" there comprised, we know not if you have excepted
" them in general, but when you made the alliance
" between us at your request you did not except them
" specially as you did our good uncle of Burgundy,
" and nevertheless one of the chief causes of your

A.D. 1402. " alliance, which was made at your instance and
" request, was the illwill which you bore to your said
" uncle of Burgundy, as we can well prove when we
" wish, whereby all loyal hearts may know if there
" be any default on your part herein,[1] and for
" this one act of hypocrisy might suffice before God
" without being made use of before the world. As
" to what you maintain that since you knew of
" the deed which you pretend that we have per-
" petrated on our said lord and cousin you had
" no hope that we would keep with you or any
" other any covenant which we had made so that we
" ought to know and believe that you have no wish
" to have alliance with our person, we marvel that long
" after we came to the estate which by the grace of
" God we now hold you sent to us one of your
" knights bearing your livery, who brought us word
" from you that you wished always to be our close
" friend according to what he told us, and that after
" your said lord and brother you would bear towards us
" more favour and friendship than to any other prince
" by such evidence that you charged him to tell us
" that the alliance made between you and us had
" passed under our great seals, which thing, as he
" told us, you did not wish to be discovered to any
" Frenchman; and since that time you have let us
" know by some of our liege subjects your good
" pleasure touching this love and fast friendship in
" like manner in effect as they have told us. But
" since you do not wish to have any alliance with
" our person our estate well considered as you have
" written to us, we certainly know not why we should
" desire to have any alliance with you, all things well
" examined, for that which you have sent to us
" formerly does not agree with what you now write.

[1] The meaning of the following passage is obscure.

" And where you write to us: 'As to the considera- A.D. 1402.
" ' tion which you say that we might have to the
" ' dignity in which we are,' you do not think that
" Divine Grace has placed us there when you say:
" ' God may well have hidden His meaning, as He
" ' has given many princes to reign, and to bring
" ' them to confusion in the end.' Certainly many
" people speak with their lips, and in their hearts
" hold and judge others to be such as they themselves
" are, wherefore I believe that God is all powerful to
" cause your sentence to turn on yourself, and this not
" without cause. And where you reflect on the dignity
" in which we are, and do not believe that Divine
" Grace has placed us there, we certainly answer and
" let you know that our Lord God, to whom we ever
" give praise, hath shown us His Divine Grace more
" than we are worthy to receive or have, if it were not
" that of His mercy and goodness it hath pleased Him
" to give to us that which surely all the sorcerers
" and devils could have not known how or been
" able to give, nor all those who meddle with their
" arts, and, however, you may doubt it, we doubt it
" not, but we know and trust in God that we have
" entered on it through Him and His providence.
" As to what you write by your demand how your
" dear and honoured niece has had to confront our
" harshness and cruelty, who has come to her country
" bereft of her lord whom she has lost, severed from
" her dowry, which you say is withheld by us, robbed
" of her substance which she brought here, and which
" she had with her said lord, God, from whom nothing
" can be hidden, knows that we have not shown any
" harshness or cruelty to her, but have displayed
" honour and love towards her, and whoever says the
" contrary falsely lies; and had it pleased God that you
" had never shown cruelty, rigour, or baseness towards
" any lady or maiden or other person any more than

A.D. 1402. " we have done towards her, we firmly believe that
" you would be more worthy than you are. And what
" you say about the bereavement of our said dearly
" beloved cousin and most honoured lady of her lord,
" we answer you in the manner that we have heretofore
" answered you. And in respect to her dowry whereof
" your said letter makes more full mention, we are
" well satisfied that in the event of the letters of
" covenant made in her treaty of marriage being well
" looked into and understood you would not be able
" truth to say to have pointed to us the reproach
" which you intend to make. And with regard to
" her property, it is true that at her departure out of
" our realm we made over to her so fully her goods that
" we gave her in addition furniture and jewels more
" than we found with her when she came to our
" kingdom, so that we hold ourselves to be quit
" thereof as appears by a schedule which we have
" thereof under the seal of her father, your said lord
" and brother, passed in his council, you yourself being
" there present, so that it may appear thereby to all
" people that we have never robbed her as you have
" falsely surmised, and therefore you ought to be
" well advised on what you write, for no prince ought
" to write except he does so openly and loyally, which
" you have not done in this case, and therefore we
" have answered and do answer you as above on all
" points on which we ought so to do in such manner
" as by the aid of God, our Lady, and St. George,
" every gentleman would hold you answered, and so
" our honour will be preserved. Touching what you
" write that you know that you and those of your
" company are all loyal gentlemen, and as such you
" hold them, we do not know this, and as to your
" own person we do not hold you as such all things
" considered. And when you thank us for those of
" your side that we have more compassion for their

" blood than we had for that of our king, liege and A.D. 1402.
" sovereign lord, we answer you for the honour of God,
" our Lady, and St. George, that in what you have
" written that we have greater compassion for the
" blood of your party than we had for our said lord, you
" have falsely and wickedly lied, for we truly hold
" his blood dearer than that of your side, however
" much you falsely pretend the contrary, and if you
" mean to say that we did not hold his blood and his
" life dear, we say that you lie and will falsely lie every
" time you say so, and that the true God knows, whom
" we call to witness, putting thereon our body against
" yours in our defence as a loyal prince should do if
" you wish or dare to try; and had it pleased God
" that you had never done or procured to be done
" against the person of your said lord and brother
" and his more than we have on our part done against
" our said lord, we fully believe that they would be
" more glad at this present. And although you think
" that we have no business to be thanked for having
" compassion for those of your side, it nevertheless
" seems to us that we have well deserved before God
" and of the whole world, but not in the manner
" which you falsely pretend, considering that after the
" blood of our faithful liege friends and subjects we
" certainly have good cause as it appeareth to us to
" hold very dear the blood of France, viewing the
" good right which God hath given us as we have
" entire hope in Him, and it is for the safety of
" them that we would more willingly offer our body
" against your own than suffer the effusion of their
" blood, just as a good shepherd ought to do in
" exposing himself for his sheep there where through
" your vain glory or pride of heart you would have
" led them to perish while you are unwilling to
" expose your body on their behalf where need
" demands it; but we do not wonder that you on

A.D. 1402. " your part perform as a hireling the duty of
" the good shepherd of the sheep, that is, when he
" sees the wolf coming he leaves his sheep and takes
" to flight without having any compassion on their
" blood; and we are also as the women who strove for
" the child before the noble King Solomon, namely,
" the good mother who had pity on her son while the
" other who was not his mother by her cruel pleading
" would have had him severed in two and put to death
" if the wise and discreet judge had not been there.
" As to what you write that when you know our
" answer to your said letter, whether body to body
" or number to number or power against power, we
" shall find you ready to do honour to yourself
" effectually as in such wise pertaining, we thank you
" for being willing to fulfil this, nevertheless we let you
" know that we hope that by the help of God you
" shall see the day when you shall not depart with-
" out seeing one of these three ways by the aid of
" God as has been said to our honour. As regards
" your desire to be certified of our coming across the
" sea as we intend, we let you know in the manner
" that we wrote to you in our other letter that at what-
" ever time it may please us and may seem most
" expedient to the honour of God, of us, and of our
" said realm we will come personally into our country
" across sea accompanied by so many people and such
" as we please, all of whom we hold for our loyal
" servants, subjects, and friends, there to preserve our
" right, yet with the aid of God offering our body
" against yours in our defence, as we have already
" written to you to put a stop to the wicked and
" false notoriety which you have intended to raise up
" if you will or dare to try it, which time you will
" find soon enough, please God, for your confusion.
" And as to being held to be what you are, God
" knows, and we wish all the world to know, that

" this, our answer, does not proceed from pride or A.D. 1402.
" presumption of heart, but because you have wrong-
" fully commenced the quarrel against us, we ever
" trusting in our Lord God, in whom we shall sustain
" the right, and who is willing that we should defend our
" right with all our power for the good grace and aid
" which he hath before sent. And we answer you as
" above is said, and for that we wish you to know
" that this our answer which we write and send to
" you proceeds from our certain knowledge we have
" sealed these present letters with the seal of our
" arms."

Notwithstanding that the abovesaid King of England and Duke of Orleans had written and sent these abovesaid letters one to the other, yet they never appeared personally against one another, so therefore matters with regard to this affair remained in this condition.

How Count Walleran of Saint Pol sent his letters of defiance to King Henry of England. CHAPTER VIII.

AT the same time the Lord Count of Saint Pol sent A.D. 1402.
a letter of defiance to King Henry of England, the tenor of which was as follows: "Most high and puissant
" prince, Henry Duke of Lancaster, I, Walleran of
" Luxembourg, Count of Saint Pol, considering the
" love, affinity, and alliance which I had for the most
" noble and puissant prince, Richard King of England,
" whose sister I have married, in the destruction of
" which noble king you are notoriously inculpated
" and very greatly dishonoured; and moreover the great
" shame which I and my offspring descending from
" him may or might have in time to come, and also

A.D. 1402. " the indignation of God Almighty and of all reasonable " and honourable persons, if I do not hazard myself " with all my power to avenge the destruction of him " to whom I was thus allied; wherefore by these " present letters I make known to you that in all " ways that I can, and that shall be possible to me, " I will requite you henceforth, you and yours, and " all the damage, as well by myself as by my rela- " tions, all my men and subjects, that I can do I will " do to you by sea and by land, always without the " kingdom of France, for the becoming reason of the " thing above discoursed of, not in anywise for the " matters which have taken place and are to take " place between my most dread and sovereign lord " the King of France and the kingdom of England. " And this I certify to you by the impression of my " seal.

"Given in my castle of Saint Pol, the eleventh day " of February, year one thousand four hundred and " two."

When King Henry had received and caused to be read this letter, and well understood the contents of it, he thought a little, and then said to the messenger, " My friend, return to your country and say to your " master, the Count of Saint Pol, that of his anger " and his threats I take not much account, and say " to him that my intention is so to see to and " obviate his threats, that he will have much to do to " protect his person, his subjects, and his country."

Then the messenger, hearing the answer of the king without replying, departed and came to Dover with all diligence, where he embarked in a boat and came to Calais, and from thence to Aire, where he found Count Walleran his master, to whom he made the report he had been charged with, as you have heard, by word of mouth. When the count had heard the messenger touching the answer of King Henry, he was much

troubled in heart, but passed it off as well as he could ; A.D. 1402.
but to keep his word he prepared himself with all diligence to make war on the said King Henry, and on all whom he might think wished him well, and also he caused to be made at this time in his castle of Bohaing the effigy and representation of the Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York, and cousin-german to the said King Henry, blazoned with his arms, and a portable gibbet, which he caused to be taken and conducted secretly enough into one of his fortresses in the country of Boullenois, and soon afterwards the said count ordered his people, namely, Robinet de Reubetagnes, Aliame de Bectune, and other skilled men of war, who by his command placed the same gibbet and effigy by night close to the gates of Calais, where the same gibbet was by them set up, and the effigy of the said Earl of Rutland there hanged by the feet head downwards ; after this was done, the two gentlemen returned to the place whence they had come. When it came to pass in the morning that the people of Calais opened their gates, they were much amazed to see this gibbet, and at once demolished it and brought it into the town, and from this time were the English at Calais more inclined to do damage to the Count of Saint Pol and his country and subjects than they had been before.

How Sir Jacques de Bourbon, Count of La Marche, went with a force of men-at-arms by sea to England, and of what befel him. CHAPTER IX.

AT this same time Sir Jacques de Bourbon, Count of La Marche, accompanied by his two sons, Louis and John, with them twelve hundred knights and esquires, was sent by the King of France to the port of Brest in Brittany, to go into Wales to go against the Welsh

A.D. 1402. who had then rebelled against the King of England. Then he embarked on board the ship which was ready for him, well furnished with all things necessary for them; he hoped to land at the port of Dartmouth, but the wind was contrary, wherefore he could not go there; but when the Count of La Marche was at sea, cruising about, he saw depart from the same port seven ships laden with divers merchandise, which drew towards the port of Plymouth; so he caused his sails to be set to get to windward of them, and followed the ships very closely. The English merchants and others who were in the said ships, perceiving the vessels of the count draw on them in full sail, like wise men entered their little boats, which they launched, abandoning all their goods and merchandise, and pulled as hard as they could to the land for safety; and the count, very joyful, drew right up to the ships when he found no defence, so he took them and carried them away with him full of goods as they were, taking the way to Plymouth, which he ravaged with fire and sword. After this he went with all his company to a little island called *Salmue*, which was destroyed in like manner; but at the taking of the latter were several new knights made, namely, the two brothers of Count Louis of Vendome, and John of Bourbon, the eldest son; with them several gentlemen of the company. Afterwards, when the Count of La Marche, with all his army, had sojourned three days overrunning the whole island, fearing the English, who were preparing on all sides to attack him, like a prudent man he departed, for if he had remained there one day more he would never have departed without a fight.

And thence the count and his army returned to France, and there befel them when they were out at sea so great a tempest, that it lasted three days, so marvellous and so horrible that by ill fortune twelve

ships were lost therein with all on board, and the said count with the remainder in great fear and peril arrived at the port of Saint Malo, for which he praised our Lord when he found himself in a port of safety. Afterwards when he had landed he ceased not to hasten till he came to Paris before the King of France, to whom he related his adventures, and the knights and gentlemen who were drowned at sea were much pitied and regretted, but nothing else could be done. At this same season Philip of Burgundy made festival and solemnized very sumptuously and notably the marriage of his second son, Anthony Count of Retes, who was afterwards Duke of Brabant, to the only daughter of Walleran of Saint Pol, whom he had by the Countess Mehault, his first wife, formerly sister of King Richard of England. A.D. 1402.

How the Admiral of Brittany and other lords discomfited the English at sea. CHAPTER X.

IN the year one thousand and four hundred and three the Admiral of Brittany, the Lord of Neufchatel, the Lord of Penhours, the Lord Du Bois, and many other knights and esquires of Brittany, to the number of twelve hundred men-at-arms, assembled and embarked at a port called Chastel-Pol, where they had thirty ships ready and furnished with all that their business required, at which place they heard that great plenty of English ships were at sea cruising about, and spying and waiting for any good fortune; which English were traitors and thieves, who did much harm at sea to merchants and other people when they could get the better of them. A.D. 1403.

This admiral and his company put to sea, cruised and directed his ships to where he expected to find the

A.D. 1403. said English ships, so it fell out that on a Tuesday whilst the said English were cruising before a port called Saint Matthews, the Bretons came upon them, drew after them, and pursued them until sunrise next morning, when the English, seeing themselves thus chased by their enemies, and that they could not escape without a battle, stopped and set themselves in order. The Bretons came very quickly to attack them, and the English defended themselves very vigorously, and they fought against each other so valiantly that it was a long time before either could be adjudged the victor; great horror it was to see them fight, and many were wounded on one side and the other. This battle lasted more than three consecutive hours, but in the end the Bretons were victorious, and there were taken there two thousand English combatants, with forty vessels and one carack, of whom the greater part were drowned in the sea, but some escaped afterwards by ransom. At this capture were few English gentlemen, but they were people joined together to keep at sea and to rob all manner of people whom they met, making war on all nations, and it was principally to destroy them that the Duke of Brittany caused the fleet to be equipped by his admiral, so he was much rejoiced when he had news of their destruction; but the King of England and the English grieving much at this event, hastily ordered men to march on all sides towards the ports of England, and ships to be kept ready to comfort, aid, and defend the islands, for the said king and his council rightly thought that the Bretons would not long refrain from recommencing some other expedition on account of the good fortune newly come to them, and so it was, for very soon after the Admiral of Brittany being a little rested and refreshed, and the Lord of Chastel Neuf, and several others with him, re-embarked, and there might be at this time as well of the country of Brittany as of Normandy as many as above-

mentioned, that is to say, twelve hundred lances, all practised men of war, and they started from Vannes, and came to embark at the port of Saint Malo, with the intention of landing at the port of Dartmouth, wherefore when all were in the ships they made sail and made for that direction in very good order, but when they were also near, the admiral, who was a very prudent knight, and others of his opinion, much deprecated their landing, nevertheless the Lord du Chastel and several others did not agree with them, but disembarked and landed, thinking that the admiral and the others would follow them, which they did not. A.D. 1403.

When they were landed they drew up in order, and the English were near them, of whom the chief was the Earl of Warwick, who with his standard raised began to march, crying, "Saint George for Warwick," and so came to approach the Bretons, who defended themselves valiantly and with great courage, with all their power, but the English began to draw their bows all together so that the arrows seemed as hail; afterwards when it came to axes and swords both parties fought vigorously, but the English too greatly outnumbered the Bretons, wherefore they were unable to bear up against the English force; so the Bretons were vanquished, and there were killed the Lord du Chastel and his two brothers, and with them a Norman knight called Sir John Marchel, and many others, and there were about a hundred prisoners, amongst whom was the Lord of Bacqueville, who afterwards escaped by ransom. On the other hand, the admiral, with those who had remained in the ships, knowing of the discomfiture of their people, and that it was not in their power to help them, returned to their country sad and grieving for their great loss.

How the Marshal of France and the Master of the Archers went to England to aid the Welsh. CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1404. ABOUT this time the Marshal of France and the Master of the Archers, by command of King Charles and at his expense, assembled twelve thousand combatants. And they came to Brest in Brittany to go to aid the Welsh, and when they were come there they found their ships ready and furnished with all that their business required, and they entered therein, and there were about six score sailing vessels; at which port they were obliged to remain to await a favourable wind, and when they had the desired wind they made sail and went to land at Haverfordwest, in England, where they killed all the inhabitants whom they found there, and laid waste the country around; afterwards they went to the castle of the said place, Haverford, where were the Earl of Arundel and many other men of war, and when they had burned the outskirts of the said castle they went destroying all along their road with fire and sword, till they came to Tenby, a town situated at eighteen miles distant from the said castle, where they found some great lords of the country of Wales, with twelve thousand combatants who were awaiting them; then they went thence to Carmarthen, twelve leagues from Tenby, eighteen miles into the country of the Morgie, and from there to the Round Table, that is to say, to the noble abbey; then they took the road to Winchester, where they burned the outskirts and the country round about. During the time these things were going on, King Henry was preparing, as previously warned of their coming, who, accompanied by as many men as in such

a hurry he could assemble, hastily took the road to- A.D. 1404.
wards his enemies, and he so pushed on because it was reported to him by his scouts that the French and Welsh were joined together in great force, at which news he was very joyful, and so went forward till he approached within three leagues of Winchester, at a place which he had chosen, his enemies, warned of his coming, being ranged in order of battle on a mountain; and he reconnoitred and caused to be reconnoitred their muster. And it appeared to him that without great loss of his men he could not fight them there. Wherefore, with all his battalions he drew up on another high mountain right before that upon which were his enemies. Between these two mountains was a deep valley, and there each party, for his own advantage, waited till the other should come to attack him, which they did not. Thus, as you have heard, were these two armies facing each other for the space of six days without doing anything, save that every morning they put themselves in battle array which they kept till night; but know of a truth that many skirmishes and fine deeds of arms were done without fail daily in this valley, in which were slain about two hundred men of the two parties and many were wounded. On the side of the French died three gentle knights, namely, Sir Patrouillart de Tryes, brother of the said Marshal of France, the Lord of Mathelone, and the Lord of Laval. Besides this, the French and Welsh the time that they were there were much tormented by famine, for with great difficulty could they obtain subsistence for themselves and their horses, for the English King, who was very valiant and prudent in the business of war, had placed men in the passes so that provisions could not come to his enemies. Finally, on the eighth day that the two forces had been there, as was said, one opposite the other, King Henry seeing that his enemies would not assault him,

A.D. 1404. retired in the evening to Winchester, but he was pursued by some French and Welsh, who destroyed eighteen carts laden with provisions and other baggage, and then with their spoil retired into the country of Wales to rest themselves a little. During the time that this expedition was going on, the fleet of the French cruised at sea, on board of which was a certain number of men-at-arms and archers whom they had placed there to protect it, which fleet returned to Wales on a day appointed for those in charge of it; and the Admiral of France, the Master of the Archers, and their advisers, seeing that their army could profit little there nor could do anything useful, because the King of England was too powerful in the field, to whom every day came fresh men and supplies, whilst to them came none, put to sea again, and then sailed with wind and sail till they reached Saint Pol des Lyons. However, when they had landed and had inspected their men they found that they had lost full seventy, of whom the three knights above-named were the principal. This done they departed thence and returned to France, everyone to his abode, save the two royal officers, who went to Paris to the King of France and the princes of the blood, by whom they were received as belonged to them.

Of the death of Duke Philip of Burgundy, and how the Count of Saint Pol went with a great force into the Isle of Wight to make war on the King of England, where he did little for his profit. CHAPTER XII.

IN the year one thousand four hundred and four died in the town of Halsenberg the good Duke Philip of Burgundy, called the Bold, son of John King of France, and brother to the wise King Charles Fifth

of that name. Before his decease the noble duke sent for his children, namely, John, the eldest, Count of Charolois, Philip Count of Nevers, and Anthony Count of Retes, whom he prayed, enjoined, and commanded that they should be good, loyal, and obedient all their lives towards King Charles of France, their uncle, his noble progeny, his crown, and his kingdom, which request they granted very willingly and humbly to the good duke their father, who, thereafter, divided amongst them his lands and seignories, namely, to John the duchy and county of Burgundy, of Flanders, and of Artois; to Anthony, the second, Count of Retes, the duchy of Brabant; and to Philip, the third, Count of Nevers, the barony of Donzy. Which things done, as you have heard, the good duke ended his life, which was a great loss for the kingdom of France, but since it pleased God it is meet to be satisfied with it. Soon after the decease of Duke Philip, Count Walleran of Saint Pol assembled at Abbeville in Ponthieu about sixteen hundred combatants, of whom the greater part were noblemen, knights, and esquires, who, in order to accomplish their enterprise, had made great provisions of victuals, salted meats, biscuits, wines, beer, butter, salt fish, flour, and other things necessary to embark. The Count of Saint Pol seeing his army ready started from Abbeville with all his brigade and came to Harfleur, where he found his fleet all ready for the embarkation; then when they had remained there some days to arrange their business, commending themselves to Saint Nicholas, they weighed anchor and made sail, and sailed till they came to the Isle of Wight, which is near the port of Southampton, where they landed, showing great anxiety to fight the English, of whom they saw very few on their landing, for all those of the island had retired into fortresses, mountains, forests, or caverns; and there were made at this landing several new knights on the A.D. 1404.

A.D. 1404. part of the Count of Saint Pol, namely, Philip de Harcourt, John de Fosseus, the Lord of Guiency, and several other notable esquires, and they proceeded to pillage some wretched villages and raise fires in various places. At this time there came to Count Walleran a priest of the island, of fairly good understanding, who treated with him for the ransom and safety of the island, provided, as he gave them to understand, that a large sum was paid to the profit of the count and of his captains, who for this reason agreed thoughtlessly enough; but, to be brief, it was a deception which the priest contrived to delay and retard the count whilst the English prepared themselves to come and fight him, of which he was informed soon enough, wherefore he and his men, without making any long stay, re-embarked in their fleet and returned whence they were come without doing anything. For this, many great lords who had gone with him took great offence, because they had incurred great expense in furnishing their outfit and equipping themselves, and had come away without doing anything which deserves to be recounted, and also the places through which these men-at-arms passed were greatly burdened; so men began in different places to murmur greatly against the said Count Walleran of Saint Pol, though they could not have it otherwise. Of this descent in England by the French, King Henry and the princes were immediately informed, at which they were very joyful, but spoke greatly amongst themselves in the way of reproach, because they (the French) had, without doing anything, and only on hearing that they were to be fought, taken to flight after setting fire to a few poor defenceless villages, for which they greatly blamed the count and his allies.

How the Count of Saint Pol led his army before the Castle of Mercq, and was discomfited by the English of the garrison of Calais. CHAPTER XIII.

ABOUT the month of May, one thousand four hundred and five, the said Count of Saint Pol, then Captain of Picardy and Boullenois for the King of France, assembled parties from Picardy and Boullenois of four to five hundred men-at-arms, with fifty Genoese cross-bowmen, and about three hundred Flemings on foot from the marches around Gravelines, whom he brought towards Tournehem, and thence came to besiege the Castle of Mercq, which is a good league from Calais, and which the English held, who, with the other garrisons of their party, had lately overrun and harrassed the country of Boullenois and the neighbouring lands. The count arrived before the said Castle of Mercq, caused to be raised and placed in position several engines, with which he was largely furnished, by which the castle was much knocked about and pressed, but those within defended themselves very courageously, wherefore the count, seeing that it would be impossible for him to take it by assault without great loss of his men, made them occupy the houses of the town which was enclosed by old ditches which he caused to be repaired in order to be more secure against his adversaries, as well those of Calais as of Guines and other places. One day the count caused the inner court to be assaulted, which was immediately taken by force, and there the assailants captured plenty of horses, cows, and sheep; at which assault Sir Robert de Berengeville got a wound, of which he died directly after. On the same day there sallied out from Calais about a hundred men-at-arms, who came A.D. 1405.

A.D. 1405. and rode quite close to the French, and at their ease reconnoitred them, and the manner in which they were lodged and defended, and then returned to Calais and reported to their captain the muster of the said French, and how they maintained themselves at the said siege; so they decided to send a herald to the Count of Saint Pol, which they did, by whom they informed him that they would come to dine with him next day, if he would wait for them there; and it was answered to the herald that if they came they would receive them, and they should find the dinner ready and the table laid. After this reply the herald returned to Calais to make his report to those who had sent him thither. Then the Lieutenant of Calais, appointed by the Duke of Somerset, assembled all the garrison, with whom he arranged that next day very early in the morning everyone should be ready to go and fight the French, who were such near neighbours to them, saying that all should be of good courage, and that according to the report of those who had been to view the siege before Mercq, by the help of God and Saint George they would raise it and make their enemies depart to their confusion, shame, and damage, And he made his dispositions at night so that in the morning they might have no hindrance. Then when it was day, they departed from Calais, about two hundred men-at-arms well equipped, with about two hundred archers and three hundred light-armed foot-men, and they brought with them only twelve carts laden with stores and artillery, all which together Sir Richard Haston, Lieutenant of Calais, conducted, and thus they marched in good order till quite near their enemies, who, by their scouts and horsemen, were soon advised of the coming of the English, for whom they did not prepare themselves or put themselves in any order outside their camp to fight them, as they should have done, but awaited them within their in-

closure of ditches so long that the English began to shoot smartly at them, and there kill and wound them without the French being able to show any great resistance, so that without waiting most of the Flemings and footmen, who found themselves pierced with arrows on all sides so that they knew not which way to turn, began to be routed and put to flight. When the men-at-arms saw these footmen fly, at their example some of them began to turn their backs, and the Genoese crossbowmen also, who, the day before, had let go most of their windlasses at the assault of the said Castle of Mercq, had not refitted new cords and quarrels in the nick of time to their crossbows, nor taken nor attempted to take the ammunition which was in the carts to supply them, wherefore when it came to the time of need they made no great defence. Then the said English receiving scarcely any damage easily discomfited their enemies, remaining victorious on the spot. And then the Count of Saint Pol, seeing the rout and discomfiture turn upon himself, with some of his company departed without any personal hindrance and escaped as best he could, going round outside Saint Omer and Terouanne. And all those of his party who held their ground were slain or taken. And there died of the French those following, namely: the Lord of Cresecques, the Lord of Faiel, Sir Morel de Saveuse, Sir Courbet de Renty, Sir Martel de Vaulhuom, Sir Guy Divrigny; and there were taken prisoners, the Lord of Hangest, Captain of Boulogne, the Lord of Dompierre, Seneschal of Ponthieu, the Lord of Brimeu, Sir Sarrazin Darby, the Lord of Rambures, the Lord of Noielle under Sens, the Lord of Guiency, and many other knights and esquires of name, to the number of about eight score and as many slain. A.D. 1405.

Afterwards when the English found they had entirely the upper hand, they carried off all the fine and great booty and spoil that they had made, stripped

A.D. 1405. the dead, put horses to the wagons and carts laden with artillery, and others, and returned to Calais very joyful at their grand victory, and annoyed because the Count of Saint Pol had thus escaped them, whom they greatly blamed for having thus abandoned his army. Thus then the victorious English, all laden with spoil, re-entered the town of Calais, where great joy and gladness was shown, and then sent hastily to King Henry of England their lord, to tell him the news, at which he was very joyful, and so were all his princes and with reason. On the other hand, Count Walleran of Saint Pol and those who had escaped with him felt great vexation of heart for their repulse, not without reason.

After this victory on the third day the people of Calais sallied forth with the heavy artillery and implements of war which they had conquered from the French before Mercq, about five hundred combatants, and came as far as the ditches of the town of Ardre, which they began to assault violently because they thought it was stripped of men-at-arms, and in fact they raised scaling ladders against the walls, throwing fire inside in several places; but by the aid, comfort, and diligence of two notable and valiant knights who were within, one Sir Mansart Du Bos, and the other the Lord of Licques, who fiercely defended themselves, the English whether they would or not had to abandon the assault, and in the retreat were killed from forty to fifty of them, the most part of whom were placed by their companions in a house outside the town to which they set fire to burn them so that their adversaries should not perceive their loss; after this was done, all annoyed and confused by the loss they had sustained, and that they had thus failed in their enterprise, they returned to Calais; and being come to that place, because some of their people had died of wounds from the arrows

of the Genoese, at Ardre and at the affair of Mercq, some of them wished to kill the French prisoners at Calais, saying that their arrows were poisoned. Thus then, as you see, affairs went in this year on the frontier of Calais. A.D. 1405.

How the Count of Saint Pol made a great muster of men-at-arms to come again to war with the English on the frontiers of Calais and elsewhere.
CHAPTER XIV.

THE Count of Saint Pol, much afflicted and ashamed of his loss which he had sustained before the castle of Mercq by the garrison of Calais, hoping somehow to recover his honour, being at Terouanne, whither he had retired after his flight, summoned men to come to him throughout all the Marches of Picardy. And thither came the Lord of Dompierre, Sir John de Craon, the Lord of Dommart, Sir Morlet de Cresecques, the Lord of Fosseux, the Lord of Chim, the Lord of Homcourt, and many other noblemen in great number. When all were come and assembled with the count, they held several councils, but in the end concluded to go in force towards the marches of their adversaries to annoy them as much as lay in their power. Of this assembly were the English early and in good time informed, so they prepared themselves against this enterprise as men of war should do. But at the time word was sent from the King of France to the Count of Saint Pol, and the other lords above-named, that they should not proceed further in their enterprise, and that the king had provided other men for that purpose; for he sent thither the Marquis du Pont, son of the Duke of Bar, the Count of Dampmartin and Harpedane, a knight of great renown, with four

A.D. 1405. hundred helmets and five hundred other men-at-arms, who lodged at Boulogne and in other places on the frontier of Boullenois. At this command of the king, the Count of Saint Pol was not very joyful, but he had to bear it, be it with good will or otherwise. On the other hand, Duke John of Burgundy, who was in his country of Flanders, knowing of the ill fortune and loss of the said Count of Saint Pol, was much vexed at it; so he sent thither in haste Sir John Vallee, knight, and with him many men-at-arms and cross-bowmen to Gravelines and other places of his frontier to prevent the English from doing them any injury, and on their frontier was also appointed by the King of France Sir Lyonnel Daraignes, a knight very expert in arms, who night and day very diligently attended to the business. When the King of England had heard the news of the good fortune of the people of Calais, he and his council were very joyful thereat, and forthwith equipped an army of four to five thousand combatants, whom they sent by sea, sailing before Dunkirk and Nieuport to land at the harbour of Lescluse; but the guards who were within the castle with those of the town and the surrounding country, who were suddenly put into great alarm, defended themselves very valiantly, so that by virtue of the cannon shot and other defences they repulsed their adversaries, of whom sixty were slain, amongst whom the Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the captains, was mortally wounded. To the English whilst they were before the Castle of Lescluse came news that Duke John of Burgundy with a great force of men-at-arms was coming thither to fight them, wherefore they took counsel together, and it seemed to them that they were not sufficiently powerful to await him, wherefore they withdrew straightway to their fleet, in which they embarked and returned to England to King Henry who had sent them; on the

other hand, Duke John of Burgundy, who had collected a great army to protect his country against his adversaries, ordered the Lord of Croy and others of his captains to move towards the frontiers of Flanders, to resist any such or such like enterprise which the English might attempt, and to fight them if they returned any more. Afterwards the duke despatched an embassy, which he sent to the King of France, the Duke of Orleans, and others of the great council, to seek assistance in men and money to besiege Calais, which he was very desirous of doing, but a negative reply was given to the ambassadors by the Duke of Orleans and the great council. Nevertheless, the Duke of Burgundy having heard his ambassadors relate the answer made to them, prepared to go to Paris in person the better to conduct and expedite his business; wherefore he departed from Flanders and came to Arras, where he had several great councils on his affairs with certain lords his faithful friends and subjects. Now let us leave off speaking of this matter and enter upon another according to our plan. A.D. 1405.

How Duke John of Burgundy had the government of Picardy, of the embassy from England, and of the state of Sir Clugnet of Brabant. CHAPTER XV.

AT the beginning of the year one thousand four hundred and six, good Duke John of Burgundy, by grant of the King of France and the Dukes of Orleans and Berri and of all the royal council, received the government of the country of Picardy. And he sent on his behalf to the frontiers Sir William of Vienne, lord of Saint George, with six hundred helmets and many Genoese crossbowmen, where they were placed in garrison, and thus they made great war on A.D. 1406.

A.D. 1406. the English, who likewise were not idle, so that the country was greatly spoiled, overrun, and pillaged by the two parties. At this time the King of England, by the advice of his barons, sent a notable embassy to the King of France, that is to say, the Earl of Pembroke, the Bishop of Saint Davids, and other knights and esquires, who being come to Paris, asked that a truce might be made between the two kingdoms of France and England, the kings and their allies, so that merchandise might take its course; and at the same time they asked of the King of France that he would give and grant his elder daughter the Lady Isabel, formerly the wife of King Richard, in marriage to the eldest son of the said King Henry, on condition that the said King Henry immediately after the marriage was confirmed should place his kingdom in the hands of the said son, and should have him crowned king; which request being heard and understood by the royal council of France, was during several days put forward and debated in different views; but finally, owing to the deceit which had been observed before amongst the English as well on account of the death of King Richard, as of other things concerning this business, nothing was granted to them. And on the other hand, the Duke of Orleans thinking to have the said daughter in marriage for Charles his eldest son, as he afterwards had, prevented their getting what they sought. When the ambassadors from England had their answer and saw that they could gain nothing, they took leave of the King of France and of all the barons, and departed and returned to England much vexed that they had been able to achieve nothing, and they being come before King Henry reported to him what they had found, at which he was greatly angered, and expressly ordered all his captains being on the frontiers of France, Flanders, Picardy, and Acquitaine, to make the strongest war they could, or knew

how to make, incessantly against the French. The A.D. 1406.
King of France seeing the war thus stirred up, ordered Sir Clugnet of Brabant, who had newly received the office of Admiral of France, to go to Harfleur, with six hundred men-at-arms at the charges of the crown, at which place he found twelve galleys ready to put to sea and carry on war against the English, and to [enable him to] take possession of his said office; but when he was about to embark on his ship he was forbidden by order of the king to go any further, so he returned to Paris. At the same time great alliances were made between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, they promising each other to maintain fraternity and love all their lives, during which thing, Charles son of the said Duke of Orleans took to wife Madame Isabel, formerly wife of King Richard of England, at which [ceremony] there was great solemnity. After these nuptials were over the Court departed, and the Duke of Orleans took away his daughter-in-law, Isabel his niece, daughter of the King of France his brother, with Charles his son, and they went to the Castle of Therey. On the other hand, Duke John of Burgundy returned to his countries of Artois and Flanders and sent for, from his country of Burgundy six hundred fighting men, whom he sent into garrison on the frontiers of Boullenois against the English. At this time and season the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Percy came to the King of France to pray and piteously entreat him that they might have men-at-arms to make war on the King of England, promising the said King of France that if he would do this for them they would serve him for ever, and for the keeping of their promise would give him as hostages some of their nearest relations and friends; but to be brief, they profited nothing, but returned quite out of countenance.

A.D. 1406. *How the Duke of Orleans besieged the towns of Blaines and Bourg.* CHAPTER XVI.

THE Duke of Orleans, by order of the King of France, set out from Paris to go into Aquitaine, with a great force of men-at-arms and archers, to the number of six thousand fighting men. He took with him Sir Charles de Labrech, Constable of France, the Marquis Du Pont, son of the Duke of Bar, the Count of Clermont, Lord of Montagu, Grandmaster of the household of France, and many other great lords, who together besieged the town of Blaines, which they sorely tormented with their engines, so that the lady of the place made terms through her people with the Duke of Orleans, promising him to surrender the said town of Blaines, provided that he could subdue the town of Bourg, which the said duke had promised to besiege, and besides, the said lady promised that during the siege she would cause victuals to be served out to the men-at-arms at a fair price. This treaty concluded, the Duke of Orleans wishing to keep faith with the lady, raised his siege from before Blaines and went to besiege Bourg, which was then well garrisoned with valiant knights and men-at-arms, as well English as Gascons, and besides was well furnished with provisions and artillery, and all instruments of war; nevertheless they were much damaged by the French, and their walls broken down by the engines, but against all assaults they defended themselves valiantly. During the siege Sir Clugnet of Brabant, then Admiral of France, put to sea with twenty-two ships full of men-at-arms with the intention of resisting and fighting against the fleet which King Henry had then sent to sea to fight the French; so the two forces met at sea; immediately they sighted each other, each party put itself into good order and

they neared each other. At the meeting of the ships A.D. 1406.
there was a great clamour and noise set up with trumpets and clarions, each side exerting themselves to attack and defend, firing cannons and hurling lances and darts so that it was horrible to see. Those aloft in the scuttles or tops threw down iron bars below on the men-at-arms and archers, whereby both parties had many slain and wounded; and they fought so that in the end there was no one who was not pleased to retire from the attack, nor any who could then say with whom remained the honour or victory, but they went some this way and some that way; nevertheless the French lost there one of their ships in which were several gentlemen, amongst whom were Lyonnel de Brancquemont, Annieux de Saint Martin, and several other of the people of the Duke of Orleans, at which the admiral was much vexed.

After this affair the lords set out on their return, (that is to say, Sir Clugnet, Sir William de Vieulaines, Captain of La Rochelle, Sir Jacques de Savoisi, and the others,) and went to the siege before Bourg, where they related to the Duke of Orleans the adventure they had had at sea. The duke after he had been three months at the siege of Bourg, seeing the strength of the place and the valiant men within, with the great discomfort and mortality which had smitten his host, determined with his captains to return to Paris, dismissing his men-at-arms; for which return the people of France and a great part of the nobles murmured against him, because on account of this army there had been levied through the kingdom a great subsidy. On the other hand, the ships of the English, which as I have said were at sea, hearing of the raising of the siege of Bourg, returned to England to King Henry, that is to say, the captains of the army, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Arundel, and other knights and esquires, who

A.D. 1406. related to the king all their adventures, and also concerning the siege which had been raised from before Bourg.

How Duke John of Burgundy negotiated so with the King of France and his great council that he had leave to besiege Calais. CHAPTER XVII.

ABOUT the time that the Duke of Orleans made this expedition into Aquitaine, the Duke of Burgundy came to Paris, when he so negotiated with the king and his council that he obtained leave to lay siege to the town of Calais, they promising him aid in men-at-arms and funds as far as they well could. After this conclusion was come to, the duke very joyful returned into his country of Flanders, where he caused orders to be written which he sent throughout all his countries, giving to his subjects a day for coming to him at St. Omer, and he caused to be made many preparations, especially in the Forest of Beaulot,[1] where he had built two large towers to set before Calais, and in many good towns he caused to be made a great quantity of other instruments of war of different kinds of use for his enterprise. On the other hand, the King of France caused to assemble throughout his kingdom a great multitude of fighting men to go to St. Omer, so that there were there about four to five hundred Genoese, the greater part of whom were crossbowmen on foot, and when all were come to St. Omer they joined with the company of Duke John of Burgundy, hoping to go before Calais, and they were in number full six thousand men-at-arms, three thousand archers, and five hundred crossbowmen, all picked men, besides the foot from the marches of Flanders, from Cassel, and other places, of whom there was a great number, and

[1] Hardels in A.

they had a great transport conveying artillery, victuals, A.D. 1406.
and other matters helpful for fighting. But notwithstanding all these great preparations thus made, and the great courage of the Duke of Burgundy, the enemy of mankind,[1] who never sleeps nor is ever satiated with persecuting the human race, who had long fomented a jealousy between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, again found a way of destroying this enterprise by means of certain covert hypocrises, for just as the army was ready to start from Saint Omer, there came to the Duke of Burgundy and the other lords of his company certain messengers bearing letters to the royal company from the King of France by which he ordered them to go no further with this enterprise. The letters then being come and the same being read before the Duke of Burgundy and those of his council, he showed signs of great grief at the prohibition of the king, saying that it caused him great shame and confusion to break up and disperse so fine an army and so noble a company as he had assembled without doing anything. Nevertheless the lords considering that they must obey the king and the great council and carry out their orders, deliberated and concluded to break up the expedition and return with all their men each to his own country, for in like manner the king had written to the Count of Saint Pol, to the master of the crossbowmen, and to several other great lords to beware as they feared to incur his indignation that they went no further in fighting, but all returned to their places. And this disbandment of the army was on the night of Saint Martin in the winter. However, Duke John of Burgundy, grieved and angry, made oath and swore in the presence of many of his people that in the month of March next coming he would return to the town of Saint Omer with the

[1] *lannemy de la char* in A.

A.D. 1406. greatest force of men that he could find, and would march against the English by all the frontiers of Boullenois to place them under subjection to the King of France or he would die in the attempt. Some days after these things the said duke left the good town of Saint Omer, and all his men-at-arms returned to their houses.

Owing to the departure of the said duke, those of the frontiers of Boullenois and Picardy made great murmuring against the council of the King of France, that is to say, against those whom they considered to be the cause of this breaking up, for on account of the multitude of the muster the countries had been much harassed. And at this time Sir William de Vienne, Lord of Saint George, then Captain of Picardy, surrendered the office into the hands of Duke John of Burgundy, who afterwards established therein in his place the Lord of Croy. And then a great number of the artillery of the King of France were placed round the castle of Renty in the hope of taking it in the coming season. After the departure of the Duke of Burgundy from the town of Saint Omer he came to Hesdin, where the duchess, his wife, was, and thence drew towards Douai, very melancholy at the disbandment he had had to make, and at giving up his enterprise against Calais, for which reason he held in hatred and suspicion some of the principal counsellors of the kingdom of France, especially the Duke of Orleans, because he was informed that by his means this breach had been effected. So he was much troubled in his heart, besides which before that he had never had any great love for him. Wherefore concerning this matter, the Duke held at Douai several great councils amongst his nobles, and there decided to set out to go to Paris to the King of France, with a view to again obtaining permission to make up for his abandoned expedition in the March following, which journey to Paris he made very hur-

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riedly and very largely attended. And there he made A.D. 1406.
to the king, to the Duke of Berri, his uncle, and to many others of the great council, bitter complaints of the great dishonour, loss, and damage caused to him and to those who were then in his company when he had by their common consent and accord prepared and fitted out and at great charges and costs to himself set on foot this great army and all to do nothing; and he was at this time spoken softly to by the king and the other lords, who showed him many grounds on which it had been necessary and profitable to do as had been done, so much so, that at last he made pretence to be fully well satisfied; for, besides, to appease him, they gave him hope that as soon as the king well could do it, he would make up the affair and repair this breach.

At this disbandment of the army the King of England was not sorry, for during this time he was much occupied with the business of his kingdom, owing to some persons taking the side of King Richard, whom he forced to beg for mercy, so that there was none who thenceforth dared to rise against him or show signs of rebellion, wherefore he held much greater power than he ever had before, and so to provide against the attacks of the French, he reinforced with men-at-arms and archers his good town of Calais, and other places on the frontiers of his possessions. King Henry of England, who was wise and crafty, clearly saw great preparations for war brewing in different places, wherefore it seemed clear to him that the French would have enough of it much nearer at hand and in their own territories without going to seek it elsewhere, and it so fell out as he thought, as you shall hear hereafter.

How the people of Liege rebelled against John of Bavaria their bishop and the reason thereof. CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1406. AT this time John of Bavaria, formerly called "Sans pitié," Bishop of Liege, own brother of William Duke of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, because he would in no way incline or bind himself to holy orders, albeit he had bound himself and sworn to the people of Liege to take them, was by them for this reason ejected from the bishopric and country of Liege, and in his place they made the son of the Lord of Peruel, a native of the country of Brabant aged eighteen years or thereabouts, who was a canon of Saint Lambert at Liege, their bishop; and at the same time the said people of Liege made the Lord of Peruel, father of the said new bishop, their principal maimbourg and governor of all the country of Liege, for previously the said Sir John of Bavaria had promised to lay aside and resign his bishopric into the hands of the said son of Peruel, at which promise had been present Anthony Duke of Brabant, Walleran Count of Saint Pol, and many other notables, of which promise he would keep nothing,and for this reason by the encouragement of the said Lord of Péruel all the commons of Liege rose against the said Sir John; whereupon great war arose between the parties, and there were many slayings and other innumerable evils done and perpetrated, as you shall hear, for, very soon after, the said people of Liege came to besiege the town of Utrecht, whither they brought their new bishop, and maimbourg with the intention of reducing it to their obedience, and you shall hear hereafter how it befell them. At the same time that these things were being done, there arose in France great murmurings and jealousies between the great princes through their

officers and others who governed them, for naturally A.D. 1406.
the princes themselves, when they met, entertained each other and showed signs of affection, but notwithstanding those who governed them and had them in hand were by no means content, but strove each of them to rise in rank and power in order to enrich themselves and cared not about their masters to what end they might come; and all this happened for want of a wise shepherd, for if at that time there had been a king in France such as had been the father of him who then reigned, the ills and destruction of the kingdom would not have happened through the speedy provision which he would have made; but the said King Charles, then reigning, of a truth could do nothing with the jealousies, debates, and disturbances which each day arose between the princes of his blood, nor could he remedy them before the evils came, because of the malady which he suffered from, for which some of his nearest relations were secretly blamed, which was a great pity, for which the said noble kingdom was nearly brought to total destruction, as you shall hear more fully in this history.

How Louis Duke of Orleans was piteously slain at the command of Duke John of Burgundy in the town of Paris. CHAPTER XIX.

IN the year fourteen hundred and seven Duke Louis A.D. 1407.
of Orleans, only whole brother of King Charles of France, sixth of that name, after he had been in Guienne and laid siege to Blaines and Bourg as you have heard before, came to Paris, where he so managed by his arguments with the aid of those of the great royal council that he obtained of the king his brother the gift of the duchy of Acquitaine, which long ago he had desired, at which many princes and great lords

A.D. 1407. murmured, and the common people even spoke of it, for Duke John of Burgundy, who was then at Paris, and who had been made to break up his enterprise against Calais, stirred up some to speak against the said gift, as being himself little pleased with the said Duke of Orleans because he had been the principal cause of breaking up his said army; so it seemed to the said Duke of Burgundy that the said Duke of Orleans had done very wrong to bring this annoyance, dishonour, and injury on him who had in this matter incurred costs, and his barons, knights, and subjects, friends and well-wishers had also made a large expenditure, so that he could not content or calm himself; but nevertheless it behoved him to bear it for a long time, because he could not mend it, and he knew well enough that for all this the Duke of Orleans was responsible, who for a long time had not loved the race of Burgundy whatever he might pretend, for since the times of Duke Philip his uncle, father of the said John, he had secretly sought and caused to be sought a quarrel with the said Duke Philip or his people. Duke John, inflamed by all these things, thought a good deal about this, so that he was heated with anger and ill will against the said Duke of Orleans, notwithstanding that before this peace had twice been made with the said Duke Philip, as you may have heard above. Duke John then saw that the said Duke of Orleans ceased not daily, covertly or otherwise, to desire to do something against him and his people, trusting in the King of France, whose brother he was, and thinking that the Duke of Burgundy would never dare to do anything against him nor anything by which he could receive any displeasure or injury; but it fell out quite otherwise than as he thought, and deceived his confidence as you shall hear; for the Duke of Burgundy seeing that he, his people and officers, continued as well by deed as by word to annoy and injure him, and his impatience so possessing Duke John that he could no longer

bear or suffer it, he sent for some of his friends A.D. 1407.
and faithful counsellors to come to him at his hotel of Artois, where he lodged in Paris, with whom he decided to put to death somehow the said Duke of Orleans, which conclusion arrived at, he chose suitable men to do this, and fixed hour, place, and time. This enterprise was the most horrible and cruel, and the one by which the kingdom received more injury than it had done for five hundred years before, because the king who could do nothing in the matter, and all the princes of the blood, and generally all the realm of France had much to suffer for it, and were greatly divided against each other, as you shall hereafter plainly hear declared. Duke John of Burgundy, who did not wish to let his enterprise be forgotten, secretly got together men to the number of eighteen, his most faithful, stoutest, boldest, and most enterprising, to carry out his desire, the first of whom was named Rollet d'Artonville, an esquire and native of Normandy, for whom Duke Philip of Burgundy in his lifetime had done so much with the King of France that [he had obtained for him] the office of General of Normandy, which office, immediately after the death of Duke Philip, the Duke of Orleans had got taken away from him, and the reason of this was because it was then commonly said that the Duke of Orleans kept the wife of the said Rollet, having his will of her; and because the said Rollet had somehow perceived this and spoken of it, the said duke so managed with the king and his council that this office of general was given to another person, for which the said Rollet felt great displeasure and not without reason, and so complained to Duke John of Burgundy, telling him his story at full length; and thus the said duke seeing that the time was come and knowing the said Rollet to be a very bold venturesome man, charged and straitly commanded him to find means of putting to death

A.D. 1407. the said Duke of Orleans, whom they hated, and he would send him men who would aid him in the affair, which he did, for he sent to him first Stas de Courteheuse and his brother John de la Motte, and other bold men to the number of eighteen, who, when they had consulted about their deed, went one after the other into hiding in an old castle, and afterwards came into an hotel of l'Ymage Notre Dame, quite close to the Barbette Gate, and there, as was afterwards known, kept themselves for several days, prepared to accomplish their damnable purpose as they had been charged to do. And it was on a Wednesday, Saint Clement's day, that this piteous affair took place in the town of Paris about seven o'clock in the evening. The associates having been there some days without being able to accomplish their enterprise were apprised that the said Duke of Orleans was gone to the Queen of France, his sister-in-law, at an hotel which she had lately bought from the Lord of Montagu, grand master of the King's household, situate quite close to the said Barbette Gate towards their hostelry, where the said queen had lain-in of a child lately dead, and had not yet accomplished the days of her purification. The conspirators then, desiring to carry into effect that for which they had come there, the more quickly to advance their business sent Stas de Courteheuse, who at that time was valet de chambre to the king, and whom the duke had never suspected. This Stas came to the duke and said to him, My lord, the king desires you to come presently before him, he has something to say to you of a matter which greatly touches you both. The duke, who thought of no ill, hearing the command of the king and wishing to fulfil it, though the king knew nothing about it, at once and immediately mounted his mule accompanied only by two esquires on one horse, and five or six footmen before and behind carrying torches, and his people

who ought to have waited upon him made no haste, A.D. 1407.
and also he had gone in a private way notwithstanding that he had at that day in the town of Paris in his retinue and at his charge more than six hundred knights and esquires. When he drew near to the Barbette Gate, the seventeen companions of Stas, who were armed secretly, and were awaiting him in secret near a house where it was already quite dusk, for it was near seven o'clock in the evening, and the streets were narrow, immediately they observed the duke rushed out quickly upon him all together; one of them cried out, Kill him! and struck him with a hatchet, so that he cut his fist right off. And immediately the duke called out loudly. "I am the "Duke of Orleans, what are you doing?" to which some of them replied, striking him, "That is what we seek," with which words the greater part of them recovered themselves, and immediately without pause by force and abundance of blows he was struck down off his mule and his head split in such wise that his brain was scattered on the pavement of the street; and there was killed with him a German esquire who threw himself upon him trying to save him. Then the authors of the deed having accomplished their enterprise, scattering and throwing caltrops after and behind them, and as swiftly as they could, departed from the place, not all together, and betook themselves where they thought they would be in safety. You may well know and believe that many tears and cries with great regrets arose throughout the town of Paris for the piteous death of the Duke of Orleans when it was known, especially in the household of the king; likewise the king, to whom he was natural brother, which constrained him to this, was in great perplexity and vexation, so also were the Queen of France, the dukes, counts, and barons, duchesses, countesses, and baronesses, knights, esquires, dames

A.D. 1407. and demoiselles; and generally the greatest part of the common people throughout the realm of France; but also there were enough who cared little, because he had been the cause of putting several taxes, excises, and imposts upon the common people to maintain his state, which was great. This death cost afterwards many lives of men and caused great destruction, so that this noble realm was nearly brought to total ruin, of which the traces endure to this day. After the said Duke of Orleans was dead, Duke John of Burgundy departed from Paris in haste, and came into his countries of Artois and Flanders, where he assembled his barons and knights, bishops and abbots, and all those who seemed to him useful to give counsel on his affairs which were not small, which I will leave for a space; but who wishes to know these matters in full may see the chronicles of France; there he may find at full length the manner and way in which at that time things were carried on and conducted by one party and by the other. These things happened in the year fourteen hundred and seven.

Of the truce agreed upon to last three years between the two kings and kingdoms of France and England. CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1408. VERY soon after these things happened King Charles of France was advised to send certain lords and prelates into England to King Henry to obtain a truce between the two kingdoms to last three years, which, such as it was, was arranged; then the ambassadors returned to France. King Henry of England, who was wise and cunning in all things, assembled a great council at this time in his palace of Westminster, where were many archbishops and bishops, dukes, earls, barons,

and knights, who returned many articles touching the A.D. 1408.
events lately happened in France, and they were well convinced that on account of the death of the Duke of Orleans great destruction would be caused between the French against each other, that is to say, the two parties, Burgundy and Orleans; and then King Henry warned all those who followed the exercise of arms on his side, as well on the frontiers of Calais as in Guienne, Bordelois, and other parts, and all his captains, that in the struggle of the said two parties none of them should mix himself up with, or go to aid, or favour, one or other in any manner whatsoever, under (pain of) incurring his indignation, and that there were enough of the French to destroy one another without their helping them, and that all in good time they might regain (an opportunity) of fighting them, and that they should wait to see to what end the affair would turn. In this conclusion all the English agreed well enough, and they rested awhile watching how affairs would incline. During this time that they had a truce with the French there came to London to King Henry certain deputies from the council of the city of Liege to make a request for a certain number of archers to help them against John of Bavaria, who styled himself their bishop. When the king heard the Liegois thus speak and relate to him the cause of their war, it seemed to him, and true it was, that he might well send to serve the Liegois some small number of hired archers, and with them a gentleman to conduct them, all at the costs of the said Liegois, who before they left England were paid for three months in good money; and there were a good many who would have been glad, if it had been the king's pleasure, to let them go into the service of the Liegois for the good pay which they saw and the rich country they knew there was at Liege; but the king would not give leave to more than two hundred,

A.D. 1408. so the others had to stay behind. The Liegois then having the king's leave for two hundred archers asked leave to withdraw, and they left London, and with them the two hundred archers, and journeyed to Sandwich, where they put to sea and sailed so that they entered the Rhine, and so managed that without hindrance they came to the city of Liege, where they were very joyfully received.

How John of Bavaria, besieged at Utrecht by the Liegois, sent to the Duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, for aid. CHAPTER XXI.

AT this time, as has been said, there were in France great dissensions amongst those of the blood-royal because of the death of the Duke of Orleans, whom the Duke of Burgundy had lately caused to be slain, wherefore many great lords of the realm had made a crusade against him and joined the Duchess of Orleans and her children, who sought before the King of France to have right and justice from the said Duke John of Burgundy, who they said had caused their father to be so piteously murdered by lying in wait for him, who was only brother of the King of France, which king was advised to send to Flanders to the Duke of Burgundy an embassy to inform him of the suit which the Duchess of Orleans and her children made against him, and there formed this embassy on behalf of the king, Sir Guichard Daulphin and Sir William de Tygnonville, with them the Lord of Gaucourt and Sir William de Bouratien, secretary to the king, who found the duke at Flourines, where they explained to him how they were sent there on behalf of the King of France and his great council for two reasons; the first, to the end that the Liegois and their bishop might be willing to

submit their discord to the ordinance of the said king A.D. 1408.
and council; and for the second, he signified to him by his royal letters the suit which the Duchess of Orleans and her children were making against him on account of the death of the late duke, and the replies which his said adversaries made to the excuses which the said duke had made against their accusations, and how they very urgently demanded justice and what they asked to have adjudged against him who was guilty of this death, saying that of right this ought to be so done to them, and that by no reason could the king, or ought he to, excuse himself from doing justice: to which it was shortly answered on behalf of Duke John of Burgundy that he wished, so far as he was concerned, to obey the king and his command, but his brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, whose sister he had married, had asked with great urgency that he would give him aid and succour against the commons and his subjects of the country of Liege, who had rebelled against him and caused him to be besieged, and he was also so requested by Count William of Hainault, brother of the said John of Bavaria and of his wife. Wherefore as to this he could not break up his army, because whilst ambassadors were passing from one side to the other these commons might put the said John of Bavaria, their lord, into great danger, which might, finally, be an example to people of this sort and the beginning of universal rebellion, and that the king and his great council might, in his opinion, postpone such and similar requests easily and without prejudice, considering that none of the parties were subjects of the king or crown of France. As to the second point, Duke John made answer that when he returned from his present expedition and enterprise, by which they saw he was at present hindered, he would go before the king and do towards him and all others as, as a good subject and so near a relation of the king, he ought

A.D. 1408. to do. Which replies heard, the French ambassadors seeing no way which they could take more profitable to the matter of their embassy, were well enough content; so the knightly ambassadors resolved to be at the fight which Duke John was expecting with the Liegois. Meanwhile there came to him from the country of Hainault Duke William, his brother-in-law, accompained by the Counts of Conversan, Namur, and Sallines in Ardennes, with many other notable lords, knights, and esquires of his countries of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Ostrevant, and other places, to the number of twelve hundred helmets, and two thousand foot well accoutred, and from five to six hundred waggons and carts laden with provisions, artillery, and accoutrements of war. After they had held together in the said place of Flourines and in the march round about several councils to decide how they would have to behave and conduct themselves in their expeditions, they finally decided that they should proceed each at the head of his force by two different roads in approaching their enemies, and that on a certain day agreed upon between them, they should meet to fight them, if they chose to await them. So it was ordered that Duke William should go before Huy, wasting the country with fire and sword, and the Duke of Burgundy with his force should ride for some days along the Brunehault road which goes straight to Tongres and Tret, where the said Lord of Peruel and the Liegois, as has been said, were besieging their lord and bishop, John of Bavaria. And thus went the two dukes by different roads wasting the country through which they passed on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and on Saturday they took up their quarters in the town of Montena (where they met), which is situated on the said road, and they camped together in one body, to conduct which there were ordained two marshals, that is to

say, for the Duke of Burgundy the Lord of Vergy, A.D. 1408.
and for Duke William the Lord of Jeumont. In this company there were fully five thousand helmets, seven hundred crossbowmen, and five hundred archers, all men of good condition, with full twelve hundred waggons and carts laden with artillery, provisions, and other munitions of war. And on this same Saturday the Lord of Peruel and his son, who was newly made Bishop of Liege by consent of the people of the country, forming the siege before the said town of Tret, were informed by their spies and skirmishers, who were charged with this duty, that the two dukes very powerfully accompanied were approaching and coming towards them, destroying the country. Wherefore, at once and hurriedly, they departed, raised their siege, and returned, full forty thousand fighting men, to the city of Liege, which lies five good leagues distant from their city of Tret, and there held a great conference with the other Liegois who had not been at the said siege. After this was over, it was publicly proclaimed throughout the said town in divers place by order of the Lord of Peruel, their mainbourg and governor, and of the bishop his son, that every man able to bear arms should, on the morrow morning, at the sound of the bell, be ready and prepared to sally forth from the city with the said lords to go whither they should choose to lead and conduct them. Which thing was thus done, for on the morrow, the twenty-third day of September, fourteen hundred and eight, there issued forth from the city of Liege, as far as one might estimate by appearance, fifty thousand men or thereabouts, amongst whom were from five to six hundred men on horseback, well mounted and armed after the manner of the French, and the two hundred archers from England, who, as has been said, were come to serve for pay, with a great quantity of carts and ribaudequins and all other kinds of material

A.D. 1408. of war; at early morning they sallied forth from the city in very good order, having great desire to join battle with their adversaries, and following their mainbourg and bishop, who, in truth, went into the affair very unwillingly, and in part as it were on compulsion.

And the said de Peruel and their bishop his son and many of their council, had many times warned them that in joining battle with their enemies lay great peril, inasmuch as they were all or most of them noblemen, practised, suited, and accustomed to the profession of arms, and, moreover, all of one accord and desire, which the Liegois were not, he said, and it was better for them to remain in their towns and fortresses guarding them and harassing their enemies in many and divers ways, taking them at an advantage, and in process of time driving and casting them out of their country. These warnings, though right and reasonable, were not agreeable to the said commons, who, above all, trusted in their great numbers. The Lord of Peruel then seeing that warnings were out of place, led them into the open fields where he put them in good order, often warning and exhorting them very amiably to be this day of one mind and keep together without breaking up. Thus, as you hear, the Lord of Peruel, admonishing the Liegois to behave well, led them to the neighbourhood of Tongres, to which place or close by had come the night before the two dukes and their forces, already warned that the Liegois had raised their siege to come and fight them. The princes then, warned of the approach of their adversaries, the better to know their actual order chose some of their captains, the most expert of their company and accustomed to the profession of arms, and sent them to ride towards the host of the Liegeois to observe and understand the manner of their behaviour; this was on Sunday very early, and they were about two hundred horse, of whom the chief

conductor was Robert le Roux, and with him some A.D. 1408.
noblemen of the marches thereabout, who did not advance without finding what they sought, and observed the said Liegeois coming, then hastily returned and reported to the princes their coming and their bearing, which was fine and good enough. And then the two dukes hearing the news diligently and without delay caused their men to be got ready and set in order of battle, and then when all were ordered and instructed each as to what he was to do, began to ride towards their enemies, and had not gone far when they spied them coming, and saw clearly their order, as did the Liegeois them, and they approached within half a league of each other before they halted. Then the dukes and their forces dismounted, for they selected a place convenient and advantageous for themselves, thinking that the Liegeois would attack them, so they formed but a single line of battle, in order the better to support and aid each other, leaving behind them their horses, waggons, and other baggage, posting as wings a great part of their archers and crossbowmen, to lead whom the Lord of Miraumond was appointed by the Duke of Burgundy, which duke was on the right flank and Duke William on the left. There the two dukes, each accompanied by his men, having given them orders and placed all in favourable positions as they had been advised to be for the best, dubbed several new knights, and kept in this order. Then the Liegeois, seeing their enemies before them, filled with pride, and esteeming the two dukes and their army as of little consequence compared with their force, began to approach them, drawing to the right towards an eminence commonly called the field of the height of Hasbain, where they halted in very fair order, bearing the standard of Saint Lambert and several other banners of their trades; and the reason why they halted in this place was because the elders of

A.D. 1408. their people said that formerly on this same spot their ancestors had gained a victory over their enemies, and they hoped this day also to have victory anew, holding the said place to be dedicated to their safety; and when they were drawn up on the said place they began to discharge several cannons which greatly harassed the Burgundians, against which they soon made provision. Between the two armies was a deep valley, and at the bottom in the centre of this was a ditch by which water ran away in rainy weather, so that when the two dukes had waited a little, seeing that from the said place and position the Liegeois would not move to attack them, they took hasty counsel with some of their knights, who were expert and accustomed to war, considering that those who make the attack are the boldest, consulted together and determined with one accord to attack their enemies immediately without waiting any longer; then all together at full speed, and in good order, and halting occasionally on account of the weight of their armour, advanced, intending to fight the Liegeois on the ground which they had chosen, and they hastened the more to do so lest they should fortify the position or increase in numbers of fighting men. Nevertheless, they had not forgotten to ordain, for breaking up the order of the Liegeois in the rear, about five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand other fighting men, whose leaders were, for the Duke of Burgundy, the Lords of Croy and Hailly and the Lord of Neufville, and with them Eugueran le Bornouille, an esquire, and for Duke William there were appointed, with the above-named, the Lords of La Hamede and Ligne, and with them Robert le Roux, an esquire; these altogether advanced to the open fields as they had been ordered. And then the Liegeois, seeing this company part from the army of the dukes and retire to a distance as has been said, and verily believing that they were flying

for fear of their great number, began in all directions A.D. 1408.
to cry out in their language, "Fuio, paren, fuio," that is to say, "They fly, comrades, they fly!" repeating the said words many times, but the Lord of Peruel, their leader, like a wise man and expert in deeds of war, restrained them kindly and gently in their noise and violence, saying, "My very dear friends, this com-
" pany of horse which you see has thus left the main
" body of the enemy is not flying as you think, but
" when the great company which is coming on here
" in your front shall intend to attack and fight you,
" those who you say are flying will quickly come on
" athwart in good line, drawn up and ordered, and
" will endeavour to divide and scatter you in the
" rear, whilst the others assault you in front, and
" therefore, very dear friends, we have before our eyes
" the battle which I have discouraged and strongly
" counselled against, but which, with all your hearts,
" you have desired to have, as if you were already
" sure of victory. Nevertheless, as I have previously
" said to you, because you were not so well used to
" arms, nor armed as are your enemies, who are all, or
" the greater part of them, fitted for war, I have
" advised you that it would have been advantageous
" for you to delay giving battle and to have guarded
" in your own country, your towns, and fortresses,
" and often attacked, and little by little reduced those
" your enemies when you had them at an advantage,
" and perhaps they would have got wearied and
" retired into their own country, or at least you might
" have found some good opportunity; however, the day
" has come which you have so greatly desired, and there-
" fore, be all of one mind to put your hope in God
" and attack your enemies boldly and courageously
" in defence of your country." When these words were said by the Lord of Peruel, he wished to mount a company of men on horseback to meet those above-

A.D. 1408. mentioned, who were coming in the rear to attack them, but the said commons would not suffer any to mount on horseback, but spoke reproachful words to him, accounting him a traitor. The Lord of Peruel peacefully enduring their roughness and rude folly, quickly ordered his army into a square, but in front it was in a triangle, that is to say, in three horns. Afterwards he ordered to the rear to right and left of the said army his waggons and carts well posted in good order, so that their horses were in the rear at one side and within were their archers and crossbowmen, whose shooting was of little value, except the two hundred English archers, whom they placed in the most suitable position. Then the said Lord of Peruel, accompanied by his son the bishop, and by some of his company, who most excelled in arms, like a good leader, placed himself in the front before the line of battle. On Sunday then, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the two dukes marching against the Liegeois, encouraged their men, each in his place, very amiably, praying them to attack vigorously and boldly and combat by firm and stable courage this foolish nation, rebels against their lord, who trusted in their great numbers and the multitude of their community, affirming that if they did so, without doubt or chance, they would have the victory, and would carry away lasting honour from this fight, for it was commonly said that in multitude lieth confusion. After these things and others like them represented and spoken by the two dukes, each to his troop, they retired to their appointed places near their banners; and there carried the standard of the Duke of Burgundy, Sir Jacques de Courtiamble, who, in coming towards him, fell on his knees, at which many were greatly displeased, fearing that this was a sign of some ill to come, but he was soon raised up by the help of those who were around him keeping guard over the banner, and very prudently bore and con-

ducted himself that day this said knight, a native of the country of Burgundy; and the banner of Duke William was that day carried in this affair by a gentle knight named Sir Ostes d'Estancines, who also quitted himself well and honourably. Thus then the two armies met, and the battle began, very fierce, horrible, and dreadful, which lasted the space of an hour or thereabouts, blows being exchanged on both sides. At the coming together of the two hosts there was great slaughter of men, and great shouting and noise might be heard, for each side cried at the beginning his war-cry; the Burgundians cried, "Our Lady, Burgundy!" and the Liegeois cried, "Saint Lambert, Peruel!" but whilst they were fighting, the company of horse detailed, as I have said before, by order of the dukes, as they had been commanded and enjoined, directly they saw the battle joined, came on in great haste with lances couched, to strike the rear of the Liegeois; these, by reason of the encumbrance of waggons and carts, could with great difficulty break through them, but at length by their force, vigour, and valour, they effected an entrance and with great goodwill began to separate, divide, strike down, and slay; and whilst they were deeply engaged in doing this some of them lifting up their eyes saw full six thousand Liegeois separate from the main body, who, with the banners and ensigns of their trades, were flying quickly towards a country town, distant about half a league from the battle, and the said Burgundian horsemen started in pursuit, leaving the work they had a little before begun. These fugitives they overtook, immediately attacking and running through them not once only, but many times, striking them down and slaying them horribly without mercy or pity. And there were such great groanings of the fallen and wounded that to relate would be a long business; but to make it short they were all at once thrown into A.D. 1408

A D. 1408. such disorder and discomfiture that they only sought flight to escape, some to the woods and others to divers places, where they could hide themselves. Thus then this unfortunate company being thus discomfited by the horsemen, as has been said, they returned again to the main body to aid their men who were fighting with marvellous valour and power, for truly the Liegeois defended themselves and attacked very vigorously, and truth to say, the fight was very doubtful, for by the space of full an hour one could not judge or know to which God would give the victory. Very horrible it was to hear the cries and lamentations of the dying; each on all sides cried out his war cry to get assistance, for there was none that was not in fear of death. So it may well be believed that if the company of horse had not so soon returned, the force of the two dukes would have been in great peril; but these horsemen, crying, "Our Lady, Burgundy!", fell again upon the rear of the Liegeois and so behaved that in a short time they took away from them the hope of victory, yet, notwithstanding this, they defended themselves very fiercely and with great courage, resisting to the best of their power, though in the end they were obliged to take to flight, whereupon commenced such great slaughter that it was a pity to see it, the blood from which went running in great brooks from the slain and from the wounded, who moaned piteously, for at this time none was taken to ransom or at mercy, so furious were the Burgundians and so hasty to win the day, and the Liegeois, thus overpowered, fell in great crowds one upon another, so that very quickly, without recovering in any way, they turned in full rout, falling by hundreds and thousands dead and wounded in great confusion and destruction.

At this same hour close to the banner of the Duke of Burgundy, where the greatest weight of the battle was, fell dead the Lord of Peruel leading the enemy

and his two sons; likewise fell the Damoiseau of Salines A.D. 1408.
who bore the standard of Saint Lambert, eldest son of the Count of Salines, who fought very fiercely, also Sir John Chollet and many other knights and esquires to the number of five hundred or more, with the English archers, and fully twenty-eight thousand men of the said commons who were all slain together and beheaded on the field. Sir Bauduin de Morgardin to save his life surrendered to the Duke of Burgundy, who gave him to a knight of Picardy called Sir Victart de Bours.

Certainly, as I have found by inquiry of those who were actually present at the fight, the Duke of Burgundy was one of the most valiant knights of either party, and without fail, if I wished to relate at length the valiant deeds that were done, and by whom, both on the one side and on the other, I should too greatly lengthen my subject, so I leave the result to the judgment of all hearts who know about such enterprises. After this great victory the two dukes gave thanks and praises to the Creator, for they had lost but few of their men, perhaps about five to six hundred men, amongst whom there ended their lives, John de La Chapelle, Knight, Sir Florimont de Brimeu; John de Latremouille who had been knighted that day, Hugotin de Nauton, John de Chevene, Viscount of Brunequet, a native of Acquitaine, Danel de La Poulle a native of Hainault, Rolland de La Motte, and others to the number of from a hundred to six score lances, and the rest were varlets and men serving for pay. Just as the dukes held the victorious field, there issued from Tongres about two thousand men thinking to aid these people, who when they saw the battle had ended in their rout, retreated towards their town, and of these the mounted Burgundians, who perceived and pursued them, slew several. These things being finished the dukes, earls, and barons caused their tents

A.D. 1408. to be pitched quite close to the place where the battle had taken place, and there they remained three days and three nights. From this place the French ambassadors above mentioned, after taking leave of the Duke of Burgundy, departed, and moving thence as directly as they could, took the road to Paris, where they found King Charles and his council; but before the departure of the said ambassadors the duke by one of his knights had already sent to his good friends of France the news of his victory, at which his ill-wishers were not very joyful, but sad and thoughtful, but on the other hand, those of his party were greatly rejoiced thereat. Before the said dukes departed from the country of Liege, they placed all the towns and fortresses in subjection to their bishop, Sir John of Bavaria, who directly after the battle came to thank them for the succour and aid which they had given him, and so he was entirely replaced in possession of the whole country. Now I will leave off speaking to you of this matter, to return to my principal subject.

Of the great council which the King of France held at Paris, to take advice how the Duke of Burgundy should be proceeded against, touching the death of the Duke of Orleans. CHAPTER XXII.

DURING the expedition which Duke John made to Liege, as I have said, there assembled at Paris at the king's command, a great number of lords, such as Louis King of Sicily, Charles King of Navarre, the Duke of Brittany, the Duke of Bourbon, with many other notable persons who were for the most part favourable to the Duchess of Orleans and her children; and there was much discourse there in deliberating as to how the king should bear himself and would have to conduct himself against the duke, the principal

author of the homicide perpetrated on the person of A.D. 1408
the Duke of Orleans, his brother, as above has been plainly declared. At which councils it was finally concluded that Duke John should be proceeded against with all vigour according to the ends of justice, and that, if he would not obey, the king with all his power should attack him. And on the very day of this decision, at the solicitation of the Duchess of Orleans and her children, present the King of Sicily, the Duke of Acquitaine, and all the princes, King Charles revoked and altogether annulled the letter of pardon formerly given to the said Duke John touching the death, anathematising him. Of this revocation the said duchess besought letters patent for herself and her children, which she obtained. Afterwards she left Paris, and with her her daughter-in-law, wife of the young Duke of Orleans, and they went to Blois. At this time came certain letters to Paris to the king about the said victory of the Duke of Burgundy, and also the ambassadors related to him (the affair) at length from their experience in the presence of several great lords to the honour of the said Duke of Burgundy. By reason of which things some who before had been harshly inclined to the prejudice of the said duke began to soften and hold their heads less high, being of the contrary opinion and view, fearing the boldness and power of the said duke; for as they were daily hearing reported, he was fortified against all perils or fortunes which might befal him, and resolved to resist generally all who chose to show themselves his enemies or rivals. And in truth shortly after, all the conclusions before arrived at against him, as I have said, were held in suspense without any effective prosecution, and it was ordered that none of the men of war already summoned for this affair should leave their countries until further news

A.D. 1408. About this time there came to Paris an embassy from King Henry of England to the King of France to obtain a truce between the two kingdoms for an entire year; which they obtained, and returning to the king their lord, the ambassadors heard the news of the victory of the said Duke of Burgundy over the Liegeois, and heard fully related the particulars of the battle, whereat they were greatly astonished, and on this account gave him the name of John sans Peur. At this time the said Duke of Burgundy was very desirous and careful to attract to his party all the noblemen of his countries, especially those most renowned and practised in arms, in order to be the more feared and stronger to resist his enemies, of whom he felt he had many; he held also many councils as to how he might for the best conduct and govern himself in his affairs; at which parliaments, where were his two own brothers and his two brothers-in-law, Duke William and the Bishop of Liege, it was finally agreed to resist by force of arms all who should seek to injure him, save the persons of the King of France and the Duke of Acquitaine; for which they promised him aid and comfort with all their powers, as well of their own proper persons as of their people and treasure against all whomsoever, except only as was said the persons of the king and his children.

Thus as you hear went affairs in France, for the Duke of Burgundy, without showing fear of any living man came to Paris with a great force, where he was very willingly seen by the Parisians, and the affair so progressed that a certain peace was made in the town of Chartres between the Orleans children and the said Duke John of Burgundy, which lasted but a little while; whereat the King of Fngland, his princes and barons were very joyful, for they often obtained news thence by merchants going and coming from one

country to the other. When the ambassadors from England, who had come to France to seek for the truce as I have said, were returned to London they related to the king what they had done, and also the said victory of the Duke of Burgundy; at which the king and his barons were much astonished, saying that the Duke of Burgundy was a very powerful prince, valiant and bold beyond all the princes of France. A.D. 1408.

During these things the Duchess of Orleans, daughter of the Duke of Milan, died in the town of Blois, as was believed of vexation and displeasure because she could not carry her vengeance to extremes, nor have justice at her will for her late husband before the king and his council against the said Duke of Burgundy, for which death the Duke of Burgundy was not greatly grieved, and not without reason, for she continued very fiercely her suit against him. So there was then great regret in France at the divisions which arose therein, which the king could not help; and thus were his country and his poor people afflicted, which he could not amend.

Of some things which happened in the year fourteen hundred and nine. CHAPTER XXIII.

IN the year fourteen hundred and nine the King of France, who for a time had been overpowered by a grave malady, came to himself again, and then the Kings of Sicily and Navarre with the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Burgundy returned to Paris, at which place they together made provisions for the government of the kingdom, and this done they returned each to his own country. At this time the Duke of Burgundy went to the wedding of his brother Philip Count of Nevers, who took to wife the Damoiselle de Couchy, daughter of Enguerrand de A.D. 1409.

A.D. 1409. Couchy, Count of Soissons, and niece on her mother's side to Duke Charles of Lorraine and the Count of Vaudemont; and, the wedding solemnised, the Duke of Burgundy returned to Paris. At this time also two combats took place in the said city of Paris in the square of Saint Martin des Champs, that is to say, by a Breton knight called Sir Guillaume Boutillier against an English knight named Sir William Carmien, on account of broken faith, and they struck at each other so that the English knight was slightly wounded, although he fought very valiantly; these two the king stopped, wherefore they were separated, to the displeasure of both parties. The other combat was by Sir John de Werchin, Seneschal of Hainault, against Sir John de Cornwall, an Englishman of great renown. These deeds of arms had been undertaken in the town of Lille in Flanders before Duke John of Burgundy, but it pleased the King of France to have them before himself. The knights appeared on the appointed day, and the Englishman was the first to enter the park bearing himself very pompously. Afterwards came the seneschal on foot, supported right and left by the Duke of Burgundy's two brothers, Anthony Duke of Brabant and Philip Count of Nevers. When both were on the field the Hainaulter mounted, and they made their salutes very well, but they were stopped by the king like the others. At this time Janus de Lusingnan, King of Cyprus, married by proxy Charlotte de Bourbon, sister of the Count of La Marche, who was afterwards King of Naples, and the nuptials took place at the castle of Melun. At this time was the truce between France and England broken. At this time were the French driven out of Genoa. At this time also Montagu, Grand Master of the Household of France, had his head cut off in the market place at Paris, the seventeenth day of October in the said year,

and there was appointed in his stead in the office of Grand Master of the Household Sir Guichard Daulphin. A.D. 1409.

Here it speaks of a Council which King Charles held at Paris, at which it was proposed to make war on King Henry of England. CHAPTER XXIV.

AT this time the King of France and the princes of the blood held several councils and assemblies in the hall of parliament in the palace at Paris, at which there was erected a royal seat of great magnificence; and by order of the King of France were sent for and summoned many great lords, prelates, clergy, and other plebeians. Then the king being seated in his royal robes, and each of the princes according to his rank, it was rehearsed by the mouth of the Count of Tancarville, a man of fine speech and notable eloquence, by the king's command, in a loud and clear voice, how Richard, lately in his lifetime King of England and son-in-law of the King of France, piteously murdered by Henry of Lancaster now calling himself King of England, and his supporters, and in the time of a truce granted by the said Henry, then being Earl of Derby, as by other English people of the royal lineage of the said King Richard is sufficiently proved, had been fraudulently and traitorously killed as has been fully declared above. A.D. 1410.

Also it was rehearsed by the said count how the young King of Scotland, who was then coming to France to the king, was taken by the English in time of truce accorded to him by the said Henry of Lancaster and brought into England before this said King Henry, where he was for a long time a prisoner; and also were there many other things put forward, after which things were recapitulated, it was concluded by the said speaker that it seemed to the

A.D. 1410. King of France and appeared to him that all these things being seen and considered he might lawfully and justly make war on and do damage to this said Henry who called himself King of England and to his abettors, without giving any further respite or deferring it. Whereupon the said speaker requested each one present on behalf of the King of France to bethink himself of the most honourable and most profitable means by which things might be conducted for the good of the country and the public welfare of his realm. Thus as you hear was held in France more than one notable council from which little was carried into effect owing to divisions; notwithstanding which thing the English continued to prepare for war, for they knew well how affairs were going on in France. At this time died Pope Alexander, and Balthasar, Cardinal of Bologna, was elected to the papacy as sovereign bishop and shepherd of the whole universal church, and he was called Pope John XXII. At this time also peace was made between the Orleans children and Duke John of Burgundy, which was broken in the town of Chartres, and there were great assemblies one against the other, but in a short time they were reconciled and made friends, and this was called the peace of Bicetre[1], which also did not last long, and was made in the year fourteen hundred and eleven, for immediately after the said Duke John of Burgundy sent four of his councillors as ambassadors to the king at Paris, that is to say, the Lord of Croy, the Lord of Dours, and with them two distinguished law-clerks, on some of his business, and from thence to the Duke of Berri; when these were between Orleans and Bourges, the Lord of Croy was alone taken and detained on Wednesday the last day but one of January, but no hindrance was offered to the others or their at-

[1] *Wincestre* in A.

tendants. And the cause of his seizure was that they A.D. 1410.
charged him with being an accomplice or consenting party to the death of the said Duke of Orleans, and he was carried to Blois and put there in very close prison. The other ambassadors passed on and went to Bourges to do their business with the Duke of Berri, to whom they related the capture of the Lord of Croy, at which he was ill enough pleased, but could not help it, so for the time had to suffer it. The said capture of the Lord of Croy was the just cause of the rupture of the peace of Bicetre[1], and then was the war renewed between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, by which the realm of France was much harassed, as in the chronicles of France may be fully seen.

How the Duke of Burgundy took the town and bridge of Saint Cloud where the Orleanists were in garrison. CHAPTER XXV.

AT this time Duke John of Burgundy, who was in A.D. 1411.
his country of Artois, was informed of the capture of the Lord of Croy, whereat he was much displeased, seeing that on the Orleans side neither peace nor truce made was kept; wherefore he assembled his council in the town of Lille, where there were many speeches exchanged, and finally it was decided that with the greatest force that he could assemble of men-at-arms and archers he should go towards the King of France at Paris, and in order to do this he requested all his friends to place him beyond the power of all his ill wishers, and he even sent for aid to King Henry of England, who immediately sent to him the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Kent, accompanied by eight hundred English fighting men. And the Duke of Burgundy desiring to be

[1] See note on p. 138.

A.D. 1411. beforehand with his enterprise to bring it to an end, left his country of Artois, and went with a great force to the town of Paris, where many councils were held with the French captains and princes, after which a conclusion having been arrived at, the ninth day of November at the hour of midnight the Duke of Burgundy sallied forth from the town of Paris by the gate of Saint Jacques largely attended by men-at-arms and archers, amongst whom were the Counts of Nevers, La Marche, Vaudemont, Ponthieu, and Saint Pol, the Earls of Arundel and Kent[1], Sir Bouchicaut, Marshal of France, the Lord of Vergy, Marshal of Burgundy, the Lord of Helly, who had lately been made Marshal of Acquitaine, the lord of Saint George, Enguerrand de Bornoville, the Lord of Fosseux, Sir Regnier Pot, governor of the Dauphin, the Seneschal of Hainault, Sir John de Guistelle, the Sire de Brimeu, and many other notable lords as well of the country of Burgundy as of Picardy, Flanders, and other places; and the army was by people skilled in these matters, estimated at six thousand combatants on horseback, all warriors, and four thousand footmen of the city of Paris, who when they were come into the country marched in good order, having many guides, to half a league distant from Saint Cloud, where the Orleanists were lodged; it might be eight o'clock in the morning when they arrived there, and the weather was very bad, cold and frosty. They being come there and halted without their enemies being in the least aware of it, the Duke of Burgundy sent his marshal, Sir Walter de Rupes, Sir Guy de Latremouille, and Le Veau de Bar, with eight hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers, forward on the river Seine before Saint Denis to offer an impediment to his

[1] Probably the reading should be Kyme. Gilbert de Umfraville, a a descendant by the half blood of the sister and heir of William, last baron of Kyme, is probably meant (see next page).

enemies to prevent their crossing a new bridge which A.D. 1411.
they had made over the river Seine, which lords above mentioned performed their duty very nobly, breaking down a part of the said bridge, and kept it so well that their adversaries were unable to cross And afterwards the duke being on the hill in order of battle where there are three roads, posted in one, the good Seneschal of Hainault, Sir John de Guistelle, the Lord of Brimeu, John and Philip Potier, English captains, who had altogether four hundred knights and esquires and as many archers. In the other road were posted the Lord of Helly, the Lord of Roncq, Enguerrand de Bornoville, and Ame de Verry, who had as many men as the above named. And on the third road were marshalled Omfreville Earl of Kent[1] with some Picard captains, and outside the town, by the vines, were marshalled the Parisians and other footmen in great force. All which companies above marshalled and put in command by the Duke of Burgundy as they had been ordered came all at once by different ways to assault the town, which had been fortified by the Orleanists with pits, ditches, and barricades as well as they were able. At these defensible points, the Orleanists, warned of the coming of the said duke, set themselves very valiantly to the defence by order of their captains whom they had with them, that is to say, Jacques Du Placet, governor of Angoulême, the Lord of Estambours, William Boutillier, Mansart Du Bois, Le Bouc Jacob, a knight, and three other noblemen of Gascony; and they defended themselves for some time, but by reason of the great number of their enemies, who on all sides vigorously assailed them, they were obliged after no long time to lose their first barricade. And finally, to abridge this matter, seeing that the chronicles which are written about it declare it more fully, the Duke of

[1] See note on p. 140.

A.D. 1411. Burgundy's men obtained the victory over the Orleanists, and there were many slain and drowned to the number of nine hundred or more, and from four to five hundred prisoners, of which number were the Lord of Estambourg, William Boutillier, Sir Mansart Du Bois, and there were carried off by the Burgundians full twelve hundred horses which were in the town of St. Cloud. After this rout the Duke of Burgundy returned to Paris, where he was received by the King of France, the Duke of Acquitaine, and the Parisians with great glory and praise. Thus as you see went matters in France, and the war increased between the two parties above named, which was the cause of the destruction of the kingdom. Many sieges, skirmishes, and encounters, great musters, and preparations took place throughout the realm to the cost of the common people, who could do nothing in the matter; many towns, castles and fortresses, chapels and monasteries, were battered down and demolished. And at this time the said Sir Mansart Du Bois, who was taken at Saint Cloud, and was a native of Picardy, was beheaded in the market at Paris by order of the Duke of Burgundy.

How the Duke of Burgundy sent his ambassadors to England, and of the deliverance of the Lord of Croy and of the children of the Duchess of Bourbon.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A.D. 1412. JUST at the opening of the month of March of this year, by license of the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy sent his ambassadors to King Henry of England, that is to say, the Bishop of Arras, the Provost of Saint Donas of Bruges, the Provost of Saint Omer, and the Lord of la Vies-villes, to treat for the marriage of one of the daughters of the said duke with the Prince of Wales, eldest son of King

Henry, which had before been spoken of. These ambassadors being come to England found the King at Rochester, where they were very honourably entertained by him and his, especially by the Prince of Wales, to whom the business related; and after that they had on a certain day, by the mouth of the said Bishop of Arras, well and wisely represented in the presence of King Henry, of his children, and of their councils, the whole matter of their embassy, and on this head had a sufficiently acceptable reply, and also had received many gifts from the King; they returned to Dover, thence to Calais, and from Calais to Paris, where in the presence of the King of France, the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Acquitaine, Bar, and Burgundy, and many others of the royal council, they related at full length what they had done, and how the King of England, his children, and the princes had grandly entertained them in honour of the King of France and of those who sent them, giving them many rich jewels, for which they thanked the kings, at which he was much pleased. Then Duke John sent for Philip his son, Count of Charolois, who was then at Ghent, to come to him at Paris to be there at the feast of Easter next coming; and in these same days at the instance of the Duchess of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Berri, the Lord of Croy was by means of the duke her father, set at full liberty from the prison where he had been kept long enough by the Orleans party, who then conducted him and brought him to near Paris. And at his departure he promised on his faith so to work with his lord the Duke of Burgundy that the Bourbon children, who were prisoners, should also be delivered; and when he was at Paris the Dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy received him gladly, and the Duke of Burgundy was much rejoiced; and very soon being come to him he made the request which he had promised A.D. 1412.

A.D. 1412. for the deliverance of the said Bourbon children; which request was granted him by the king. So they were sent for from the castle of Renty where they were, and with some of their servants brought to Paris. Afterwards they were sent away freely without paying anything; and Sir John de Croy conducted them well accompanied by his men as far as the lands of the Duke of Berry, and the son of Sir Mansart Du Bois, who had been taken with them, remained in the castle of Renty. Moreover the Lord of Croy, by order and consent of the Duke of Berri and the duchess, was appointed on behalf of the king governor of the county of Boulogne and made castellan of Bryot-sur-Somme; and also there was given to him by the king on his return, at the instance of the Duke of Burgundy, the office of chief butler of France, and to Sir Peter des Essars, Provost of Paris, the office of master of the waters and forests, which office Walleran Count of St. Pol, Constable of France, held before.

How the Dukes of Berri and Orleans and others of their alliance sent their ambassadors to King Henry of England, and of what came of it. CHAPTER XXVII.

AT the beginning of the year fourteen hundred and twelve, the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Orleans, the Counts of Vertus, Angoulême, Alençon [and] Armagnac, and the Lord of Albret, styling himself Constable of France, with other lords of their alliance to ask [aid] on their behalf, with the intention of harming and injuring as much as they could Duke John of Burgundy, sent their ambassadors to King Henry of England, furnished with their seals and instructions to work with him according to the commission which they had from the above-named lords, and also with his children

and other English princes. But as they were passing A.D. 1412.
through the country of Maine to go through Brittany and thence to England, they were pursued by the bailly of Kem in Normandy, who, with the aid of a few of the commons whom he got together, fell upon them and took a part of them alive with all the seals, instructions, and other matters which they were carrying, but some escaped whither they best could. After this rifling, were all these matters sent by the said bailly to Paris to the king and his great council; and all the said letters and matters were in a leather bag closed and sealed at the top. The king being at the Hotel of Saint Pol, holding his council, to see and consider these things the first Wednesday after Easter, when were present the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy, the Counts of Charolois, Nevers, and Mortain, Sir Giles de Bretaigne, Maitre Henry du Marly, Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Tournai, Amiens, Coutances, [and] Auxerre, the Rector of the University, the Provost of Paris, the sheriffs and clerks of the city, and many others of the king's council, it was set forth by the Chancellor of Acquitaine, namely, the Lord of Lolehaine, a short time previously an advocate of parliament, that lately there had been given into his keeping by order of the royal council a leather bag in which were enclosed several papers, which bag had been found and taken by the bailly of Kem, together with a knight, a chamberlain of the Duke of Brittany, and brother Jacques Petit of the order of Saint Augustine, and other ambassadors above named, and the said bag had been sent by the bailly of Kem. And then the said chancellor told how in the said bag had been found four blank papers sealed with four great seals, and signed with four signs manual, namely, Berri, Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, and in each blank paper were their names written outside their seals in the margin, and nothing else was written therein; and also he had found several closed letters

A.D. 1412. from the Duke of Berri, directed to the King of England, to the queen, to their four sons, and likewise to the Duke of Brittany, to the Earl of Richmond, and other great lords of England; and there were also therein many other letters which had no superscriptions, but were all credentials, all directed to the King and Queen of England. And the said letters were read publicly, in which the Duke of Berri called the King of England, "my most dread lord and nephew," and the queen, "my most dread lady niece and "daughter," and they were signed with the Duke of Berri's own hand. And in those to the queen were two lines in his said hand. Moreover, the King of France held in his hand the said sealed blank papers, present all the princes and the council, and there was a little codicil, in the form of a memorandum, containing one sheet of paper, on which were the instructions of the said ambassadors, and the contents thereof was publicly read, that is to say, how they should relate the assertions made by the Duchess of Orleans and her children against the Duke of Burgundy on account of the death of the Duke of Orleans; they should tell also how on account of his death they had many times requested the King of France to do and have justice for the same, which they had never been able to obtain because the Duke of Burgundy deceived the king and excited his council, in this way, by saying that the Duke of Orleans had been false and a traitor to the King of France and his majesty; and again they should tell how the Duke of Burgundy had bewitched the people, especially those of Paris, [by saying] how the above-named wished to depose the king from his crown and to destroy his progeny, which was also most false and which they had never thought of; and therein it was also [said] that the Duke of Burgundy had brought Duke John of Brittany under displeasure of the King of France because he had broken up the expedition against Calais and several other enter-

prises which the Duke of Burgundy had undertaken against the King of England, and how he had set the people of Paris against the king, and his son the Duke of Acquitaine, who were entirely governed by their hands, and were in such subjection to them that they scarcely dared to speak a word; and also how the people of Paris under cover of a bull issued by Pope Urban the Fifth on the subject of the great companies which had come into France, had, contrary to justice, caused the above-named and their allies to be denounced, excommunicated, aggravated, re-aggravated, and [their sentence] [1] corroborated; after this that the ambassadors were to take care not to discover themselves to any man in England unless they saw that he belonged to the above-named set. And when they should have said publicly to the King of England what is touched upon above, they should tell what they wished to speak of to him in private, namely, that the [Dukes of] Berri, Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon desired above all his good and his honour, and to ally themselves with him to aid and comfort him against the Duke of Burgundy and his allies, and also against the people of Wales and Ireland; moreover they were to say that in case they could not get the better of the Scots, which they were to endeavour to do, with all their power, and if they could not, they would so manage that peace should be made between him and the King of France; and again they were to say that in case they could not secure this, that if there were any lands on the sea coast on which they made any claim or to which they pretended any right, they would so manage that they should be satisfied; and they were to say besides how in default of justice they came to him to have justice and right for the death of the deceased Duke of Orleans, and how by reason of the A.D. 1412.

[1] The words in the original are *excommuniez, agrevez, rengrevez et renforchies*, they are obsolete terms of Canon Law.

A.D. 1412. name of king which he bore it belonged to him to do and assist justice, and that it would be to him and his a great good and everlasting honour to do this, and give aid likewise [to those] of such noble blood as was the Duke of Orleans, and they were to tell him how the above-named would serve him with all their power, him, his children, and all his descendants in the time to come, which they would be well able to do against the most powerful and noble of the realm of France.

Moreover to obtain aid against the Duke of Burgundy and his allies the above-named ambassadors were to request of the King of England to have three hundred lances and three thousand archers, whom they would pay for four months. And after this there was also exhibited by the said Chancellor[2] of Acquitaine a little treatise which the said Master Jacques Petit had made on the government of the realm of France, containing many articles, which also was publicly read, amongst which articles were that on every arpent of land there should be imposed an aid which should be called a land tax, and also that in the said kingdom they should have granaries of wheat and of oats for the king's profit; and also many other things which for brevity I will not relate, inasmuch also as the chronicles of France make full mention of them. But so great was the hatred of the above-named lords against the Duke of Burgundy that they cared little what they did so long as they could be revenged on him and get the better of him; besides there were other letters which were publicly read before the king and the council [to the effect] that lately the Dukes of Berri, Orleans, Bourbon, and Alençon, with others their allies, were assembled in the city of Bourges, and that there they had renewed their oaths, concluding to destroy the king and the Duke of Acquitaine, the realm of France, and the good city of Paris. When the

[1] *Chevallier* in A.

king heard this clause, of his own accord, and weeping violently, he said, "We see well their ill will, where- "fore we pray and require all who are of our blood, "and council, that you aid and counsel us against "them, for it touches yourselves as well as us and "the whole realm," and in like manner he prayed all present. Then King Louis of Sicily rose from his seat, and kneeling before the King of France, said to him, "Sire, for the honour and welfare of yourself and "your realm, we pray that it may please you to "prosecute this affair well and diligently, for there is "great need of it," and likewise knelt all the other lords, and offered themselves to serve him to the utmost of their power. After all these matters had been thus spoken of and the council was ended, all these things were divulged and published throughout Paris, and communicated to many by writing. A.D. 1412.

In these days, Louis Duke of Bavaria, brother to the Queen of France, being then at Paris, was suspected by the Parisians of having spoken in secret to the king and the Duke of Acquitaine in favour of the said Dukes of Berri, Orleans, and their allies; for which reason and also for fear the Parisians should place him in any jeopardy, he returned to his country of Germany. About this time, or very soon after, the King of England caused to be proclaimed with sound of trumpet in his good town of Calais, and in other places on the frontier of Boullenois, that none, of whatsoever rank he might be, owing him obedience, should go into the kingdom of France at the command of either party of the disputants to serve them in arms or otherwise on pain of forfeiture of life and of all their goods, so that in the manner you have heard the affairs of France went on at that time. After these counsels and letters and instructions had been seen, heard, and examined before the king and his council, the King of Sicily by command of the King of

A.D. 1412. France and his great council left the town of Paris on Tuesday the twenty-eighth day of April, accompanied by men-at-arms and archers, and went to place garrisons in all the fortresses of the country of Maine against the Counts of Alençon and Richemont. On the other hand there were sent into the country of Alençon to reduce it to the obedience of the king, Sir Anthony de Craon, and Le Borgne de la Heuse, a knight, who came before Domfront and took the town; but the castle they could not obtain so quickly, wherefore they laid siege to it, and the besieged sent to the Count of Alençon, urgently requesting him to come and succour them. Then the count, much troubled about his town of Domfront, sent word to those in the castle to hold out and in a few days they should have succour, for he would fight the besiegers if they waited for him. Of this message the besiegers were informed, and they let the King of France know, requesting him to provide against this, which he did, for he sent thither his constable and his marshal with a great force, and likewise the King of Sicily sent thither a great company of his men-at-arms. But on the day which the Count of Alençon had appointed to fight them, he neither went nor sent thither, wherefore the Constable of France and the lords seeing that their adversaries did not come, caused a strong bastion to be constructed before the castle of Domfront, within which and in the town they were lodged; then a good garrison having been placed there to resist those of the castle, the constable departed thence and went to besiege the town of Saint Remy-ou-plain, and sent Sir Anthony de Craon to Vernon to seek bombards and other engines of war to bring to the said place of Saint Remy. In the company of the constable were then Sir John de Luxembourg, his nephew, Sir Philip d'Aurencourt, and Sir James de Beausault, his brother the Vidame of Amiens, the Lord of Auffemont, the Lord

of Channy, Le Borgne de la Heuse, Ralph de Nelle, A.D. 1412.
Lolequin, son of the Vidame, the Lord of Longroy, Le Gallois de Renty, and many other notable knights and esquires to the number of twelve hundred helmets and a great number of archers; and they lodged all together in the town of Saint Remy, and around the castle, which was very strong and well garrisoned with good men-at-arms, whom they summoned to yield them to the obedience of the King of France, which they refused to do. Then by order of the constable many engines were placed in position, by which the place was greatly knocked about and damaged. But at this time, the Lord of Gaucourt, Sir John de Dreues, Sir Jennet de Garenchieres, William Boutillier, the Lord of Argilliers, John de Falloise, and other captains of the party of the Duke of Orleans, joined together with a good number of fighting men with the intention of coming secretly to attack the constable in his quarters unawares; he was informed of their coming and force, and hastily caused his trumpets to be sounded to call his men into the country, and there form his line of battle well fortified to await his enemies there. After his dispositions were made and when he saw the enemy approaching he made some new knights, as did the other lords there present, that is to say, John de Luxembourg, John de Beausault, Lolequin son of the Vidame of Amiens, Allard de Herbammez, Le Brun de Sains, Raillant des Cauffours, Regnault d'Agincourt, and many others, and, this done, the constable placed himself on foot near his banner. Then the Orleanists, who at this time were called Armagnacs, came to one point in great force galloping suddenly into the town, thinking to find their enemies there before they were aware of them, and they failed this time; but when they saw that they were drawing together they advanced towards them with great energy, and at the first onset killed eighteen or twenty;

A.D. 1412. but finally, to be brief, the Orleanists were discomfited and cut to pieces, but those who could escape took to flight; wherefore the victors began a pursuit, those of them who had horses, and pursued their enemies, in which pursuit a great number were slain or taken, and those men able to escape went to Alençon and other places subject to them. The French returning from the pursuit brought back full four and twenty prisoners to the constable, whom they found rejoicing much with his knights for the fine victory they had gained. Amongst these prisoners were the Lord of Danieres, Sir Jennet de Garenchieres, and many other gentlemen. And it is true that those who came to the said battle to fight the constable were for the most part peasants, of whom there were full three hundred slain and seven or eight score prisoners. After the victory the constable withdrew into the town of Domfront, where he made his men prepare and order matters to assault the castle, but those within placed themselves and the place in subjection to the King of France, saving their bodies and goods. Which things being thus done the constable and his people came to Paris, where the king received them gladly and with great honour for the fine victory which God had given them. And on the other hand the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, Orleans, and Alençon, knowing the news of the ill-fortune of their people, and seeing that day by day the French and Burgundians strove to make war on them, capturing towns and castles from them, all agreed together to send to the King of England to obtain aid and succour. When their deputies were come to England they found King Henry at Eltham, not far from London, who received them kindly, and where they had not to wait long for an audience, and they told the king the cause of their coming, presenting to him their letters which contained credentials for them, which were read. Then the King asked the ambassadors to declare their

mission, which they did, delivering to him the seals of their masters, and related to him how quite lately the dukes who had sent them there and their allies had despatched a notable embassy to him bearing letters and sealed blanks on behalf of the lords, who on the way had been fallen upon, their letters captured, and the greater part of them detained prisoners. The King of England answered them that this adventure weighed upon his mind, and that he much wished that they might have come to him without hindrance; and then, finally, after several secret councils which these ambassadors had with King Henry, by means of the seals and credentials, they so negotiated that he was willing to send the above-named lords the full number of men they asked for, of whom the leader was to be Thomas, his second son, Duke of Clarence, and as security for this he gave to the said ambassadors his letters sealed with his great seal, at which they were much rejoiced; then after they had done their business with the king they took leave and departed, and hastened so that they came to the dukes their lords, whom they found all together at Bourges, and who were greatly rejoiced to see the seal of the King of England, for every day they expected to have to give assistance, because they were assured that the Duke of Burgundy was bringing the King of France with all his force against them to subdue them. A.D. 1412.

How the King of France departed from Paris to besiege Bourges; of the taking of Boulinghuem; and of the letters of the King of England.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

TRUE it is, that at this time Charles King of France, to reduce his enemies to obedience, by the decision of

A.D. 1412. his great council, sent through all the extent of his kingdom for men-at-arms and archers to come to Melun, and at the same time were sent for carts in plenty. Likewise the Dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy made great requisitions. And when all was ready for departure the Parisians in very great number, with those of the University, went to the king at his hotel of Saint Pol, where, present his council, they besought him urgently not to make any treaty with his adversaries unless they were expressly comprehended and named, which request was granted them. The king sallied forth from Paris in noble array on Thursday, the 5th day of May, and went to the wood of Vincennes, where was the Queen of France, and thence to Melun; in his company were the Dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy, Bar, the Counts of Mortain and Nevers, with many other great lords, knights, and esquires, and he had decided with his great council never to return until he should have brought into obedience to him the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, Orleans, and their allies. During this time the English of the frontier of Boullenois took by storm the fortress of Boulinghuem lying between Ardres and Calais, which belonged to the Lord of Diquenne by inheritance, notwithstanding that there was a truce; and it was commonly reported that the captain of the said place, named John Destambecque, had sold it. At this capture, when the news of it was known through the country, the French party were much troubled; and the said captain, his wife and children, remained peaceably with the English, which was a proof that this was done by his consent, for also some of his personal retainers were ransomed.

Moreover, King Henry of England, from the affinity and alliance which he had desired to have for his eldest son, as has been touched upon above, with the

daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, was then altogether turned away in favour of the alliance which he had made with his adversaries; and to the Gantois, the people of Bruges, Ypres, and Le Franc, sent letters into France by one of his heralds, the tenor whereof follows: A.D. 1412.

"Henry, by the grace of God King of France and "England, Lord of Ireland, to the honoured and wise "lords, burgomasters, aldermen, and magistrates of "the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and of the "territory of Le Franc, our very dear and especial "friends, greeting and love. It has come to our "knowledge by credible report how, under the pro-"tection of our adversary of France, the Duke of "Burgundy, Count of Flanders, is taking and wishes "to take shortly his way towards our country of "Acquitaine to destroy it, with our subjects, and in "particular our dear and well beloved relations the "Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Orleans, the Counts of "Alençon and Armagnac, the Lord of Albret, who at "that time called himself Constable of France, and "their allies; wherefore, if your lord desires to per-"severe in his vicious and wicked purpose, will you "by the bearer of this letter certify to us by your "own letters, at the earliest that you can, if those of "the country of Flanders wish on their part to keep "between us and them the truce lately made, with-"out seeking to assist in the evil purpose of your "lord against us? Understanding, honoured lords and "very dear friends, that in case you and the com-"munes of Flanders wish to maintain and keep it "for the profit of the commons of Flanders, we "intend and have proposed to do likewise on our "part. Very dear and honoured friends, may God "have you in His holy keeping. Given under Our "Privy Seal at our Palace of Westminster, the six-

A.D. 1412. " teenth day of May, fourteen hundred and twelve, " and of our reign the thirteenth."

The Flemings having received these letters, answered the bearer that the truce of which the said letter made mention they in no wise desired to infringe, and that the King of France, their sovereign lord, and their natural lord, Duke John of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, they would serve and assist as they had heretofore done to the utmost of their power. And no other answer gave the Flemings to him who carried the King of England's letters, who returned in haste to the king his lord, to whom he made report of the answer of the people of Flanders, at which neither he nor his barons were very well pleased, but at this time they showed no sign of it. After the departure of this messenger, the Flemings sent the letter which he had brought into the town of Sens, where were the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, and the messenger delivered them to the king, in presence of the duke and all the other princes. In these same days news came to the king that the Duke of Berri had, by the advice of the Count of Armagnac, caused money to be forged in the town of Bourges, to pay the mercenaries, namely, white doubles and golden crowns closely resembling the money of the king's die in superscription and arms, whereat the king and those of his council were much displeased. At this time the town of Vervins in Terasse was taken by Sir Clugnet de Brabant, and afterwards recaptured by the Burgundians.

How King Charles heard certain news that his adversaries were allied with the King of England, and of the Constable of France, who went into Boullenois. CHAPTER XXIX.

IN these days Charles King of France, being A.D. 1412.
still at the head of his army in the city of Sens in Burgundy, heard certain news that his adversaries were allied with the King of England, and that the said King of England wished to send a great army to their aid to ravage his realm, and that they were already sallied forth from Calais and other fortresses of the frontiers of Boullenois, where they were beginning to make inroads and cause innumerable ills, infringing the truce which existed between France and England; so that to prevent these designs of the English were sent to the parts of Boullenois Count Walleran de Saint Pol, then Constable of France, who hastily quitted the king, and with him Le Borgne de la Heuse and other knights, and he proceeded to thoroughly furnish the places on these frontiers with all necessaries proper for defence against the English. Immediately after all these places were thus supplied, all the English territory and frontier was disturbed by rumours, but they pretended to take no notice for a while, in order to observe the demeanour and place of meeting of the French, although they immediately recommenced raiding, taking prisoners, and doing the worst they could; wherefore the constable, seeing the extent of these deeds, took counsel with some of the wise knights of his company, such as the Lord of Channy, Sir Philip de Harcourt, and others; after this council was ended he assembled to the number of seven or eight hundred men-at-arms, and archers, and crossbowmen in great number, under the command of the Lord of Longroy, who was instructed to take them

A.D. 1412. to the town of Guines, and when they approached the town all dismounted; and the constable had sent by another route Sir John de Renty with forty helmets, for he well knew the approaches, entries, and outlets of the town, and he sent him to show to those who did not know it at what point they might best assault it. This town of Guines was enclosed by good ditches and palisades, and was garrisoned by Hollanders and other mercenaries who remained there. The constable, with six hundred helmets, marched beyond the town to guard a passage which there was between the said Guines and Calais, so that the English from Calais might not come with a great army to succour the people of Guines, and also that the people of Guines might not be able to pass to communicate with the said people of Calais; and at this place the constable placed himself in the midst of his men, where he remained so long as the assault lasted. The foot soldiers detailed for that purpose and those who conducted them came together at daybreak to the said town well ordered and prepared for the assault; and they began very briskly to cross the ditches and break down the palisades, and made so impetuous an assault that they entered the town where they set fire to it, and there were burned more than forty houses, although the inhabitants defended themselves valiantly; and the English who were within the castle in garrison cast down stones and drew their cross-bows vigorously without ceasing, by which they greatly harassed the assailants. Finally, the people of the castle opened a door in their base-court, through which some of those from the town entered, whereby they escaped being slain or taken; afterwards the retreat was sounded, in which there were a good many wounded as well as in the assault, beside those who died there. The Count of Renty communicated the retreat of the French to the constable, who, this

being done, retired with all his army to Boulogne, A.D. 1412.
leaving the garrisons to come to terms, who had daily encounters.

In this same season on Friday the ninth day of June the King of France and his army laid siege to the city of Bourges, but of what was done there it is not necessary to make much mention, because in the chronicles of France is the history continued at full length. Already there had been many fine skirmishes fought, but at length a treaty was made, whereby the town was surrendered into the obedience of the King of France, and then was renewed the peace made at Chartres between the parties of Orleans and Burgundy with the oaths which each party had broken. After the King of France had received the submission of the city of Bourges the Dukes of Berri and Bourbon, and with them the Lord of Labrech, and the attorneys of the Duke of Orleans and his brothers, in the tent of the Duke of Acquitaine (because the king was then ill of his usual affection), in the presence of many princes and great lords, swore anew on the Holy Gospels to firmly adhere to and loyally keep and observe the peace agreed to by them before Bourges; and they promised him to swear and cause the Duke of Orleans [and his brothers], who were then absent, to swear in the presence of the king, promising to bring them on a certain day, which was appointed to them, before the king in the town of Auxerre.

After these oaths and promises the king went to Auxerre, where assembled the Duke of Orleans and his brothers as had been promised, and renewed their oaths and promises. During these treaties, the king being at Auxerre, news came to the king and those of his council which was not pleasant, that is to say, that the English had arrived at La Hogue Saint Vaast in the country of Contentin, and that they had

A.D. 1412. landed there, spreading themselves though the country round about, pillaging and taking prisoners; and they were about eight thousand fighting men of whom there were two thousand helmets and the rest archers and varlets, whose leader was Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son of King Henry of England.

These English had landed with the intention of arriving in time before Bourges to succour the above-named dukes and their allies. And they went to the Counts of Alençon and Richemont, who joyfully received them albeit they came after peace was made; but notwithstanding this they aided them to the utmost of their power in providing them with victuals. And the English immediately increased their army by full six hundred Gascon helmets, who had been at Bourges as mercenaries, and they joined themselves together and began to spoil the country. But the Duke of Berri and those of his party, in order that hereafter they might make use of them if occasion arose, promised the English a great sum of money, amounting to two hundred thousand crowns, for the costs and expenses of their army; these, if they had kept their promise to them, would have returned to England though Acquitaine or Bordelois. But the said lords were never able to find the money to satisfy them, wherefore they destroyed the whole country. At the same time came from England to Calais by sea, the Earls of Warwick and Kyme[1] sent by King Henry with two thousand fighting men. Then being arrived, these with the other garrisons overran the country of Boullenois, where they did great damage; they burned the town of Samer-au-bois, took by assault the bridge of Ouessant, pillaged and afterwards destroyed by fire in every direction. The King of France informed of this news sent to Saint Omer, Count

[1] *Kent* in text. The person alluded to appears to have been Umfraville, who assumed the title of Kyme (*see* notes on pp. 140, 141).

Walleran of Saint Pol, his constable, the Lord of Rambures, master of the crossbowmen, and the Lord of Hailly with a great number of men-at-arms, who were placed in garrison on the frontier of Boullenois; and thus on all sides was the country greatly despoiled, as well by the English as by the French. At this time the king returned to Paris, where he was greatly congratulated; with him there entered also the Dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and the Count of Vertus, but the queen, with the Dukes of Berri and Orleans, remained at the wood of Vincennes; soon after, however, the queen, came to Paris escorted by the Duke of Orleans, nearly to the gates, where he took leave of her. And he went outside Paris to his county of Beaumont, and the Duke of Berri remained at the wood of Vincennes. After the Duke of Orleans had remained in his county awhile, he went to the English, that is to say to the Duke of Clarence, who, as has been said, had come over to the country at his request, whom he then satisfied with a payment, and also before he could levy it, and because he could not then complete the whole sum which might be owed them for their wages, he delivered the Count of Angouleme as surety to the said Duke of Clarence for the completion of the payment, and with him several gentlemen, such as Sir Marsel le Borgne, John de Saveuse, Arquembault de Villers, William Boutillier, John David, and several other attendants, who were all carried off to England together by the said Duke of Clarence. And the said hostages were delivered to him for two hundred and ten thousand francs. And after the Duke of Orleans had thus arranged he went to Blois. And the hostages remained in England for a long time, as shall be hereafter declared. At the same time many secret commotions went on at Paris between the lords of the blood-royal, and all through the A.D. 1412.

A.D. 1412. officers and attendants of the princes, for there was not one who did not desire great governments and profits, some from the party of Orleans and the others from the party of Burgundy, wherefore they could not well agree together, and there was not one who did not wish to rule in his turn, whatever treaty of peace there might be. So there were secretly great envyings and hatreds; but, nevertheless, the Duke of Orleans and those of his party so managed that they completely governed the king and the Duke of Guienne and the Duke of Acquitaine. Then the Duke of Burgundy, seeing things turning out thus, secretly caused his baggage to be prepared, and then one day when the king was going hunting took leave of him, and went into his countries of Flanders and Artois; at which the people of Paris and others his well-wishers were much displeased, and those who had been formerly appointed to various offices after his departure were dismissed, and others put in their places at the desire and request of the Dukes of Berri and Orleans. Thus as you hear matters went on at the time in France, and all through envyings and covert hatreds, whereby the noble king and all his realm were almost destroyed, and they could not help it.

Then follows the copy of the letter of alliance which the King of England and his children on the one hand, made with the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and Orleans and their allies. CHAPTER XXX.

[BETWEEN] King Henry of England and his children of the one part, and the Dukes of Orleans, Berri, and Bourbon, the Counts of Alençon and Armagnac, the Lord of Labrech, and others of their confederacy, of the other part. In the year one thousand four hun-

dred and twelve, the eighth day of May; firstly, it was agreed by the above-named lords, or their attorneys, that henceforward they will expose their persons and all their power to serve the King of England, his children and successors, [and] heirs, always and whenever they shall be required in his just quarrels, recognising that the quarrel which the said King of England maintains in the duchy of Guienne is good and just, and that the said duchy belongs to him of right, inheritance, and natural succession, and they declared that they hurt not their loyalty in assisting the said king in this. A.D. 1412.

Item.—The said lords and their attorneys offered their sons, daughters, and nephews, relations and kinsmen, and all their subjects, to contract marriages according to the discretion of the said King of England.

Item.—They offered towns, castles, and all their goods in aid of the king and his heirs, to defend his rights and quarrels, saving their loyalty, which they declare elsewhere in another decree whereof letters were made and passed.

Item.—These lords offered to the said king generally all their friends and allies and well-wishers to serve him in his quarrels [and in the restitution of the Duchy of Guienne.][1]

Item.—Discontinuing all fraudulent things they are ready to acknowledge to the said King Henry that the said duchy of Guienne is his in such and like franchise as any of his predecessors held and possessed it.

Item.—These said lords again acknowledged that all the towns, castles, and fortresses which they have in the said duchy, they hold, and desire to hold, of the said King Henry as of their true Duke of Guienne, promising all due services for homage in the best way that it can be rendered.

[1] The text in A is confused.

A.D. 1412. *Item.*—They promised to deliver to the King of England, so far as lies in them, all the towns and castles said to belong to the royalty of England, which are in number twenty declared in the letters made thereon; and in regard to the other towns and fortresses which are not in their power, they would aid the king or his deputies to conquer them at their own charges.

Also hereafter is contained and declared the tenor of the sealed letters which were made, that is to say, it pleases the King of England that the Duke of Berri, his loyal uncle, subject, and vassal, and likewise the Count of Armagnac, hold of him in fealty and homage the lands and seignories which follow. The Duke of Berri shall hold the country of Poitou during his life [the Duke of Orleans shall hold the country of Angoulême during his life],[1] and the country of Periquel for ever. The Count of Armagnac shall hold four castellanies declared in the said letters, in homage, subject to certain securities and conditions declared in the said letters.

And furthermore, among the above-mentioned promises the King of England and Duke of Guienne was to defend the above-named lords against all manner of persons, and to aid them and give them succour as their true lord, and also will bring about for them, and aid them to bring about, the accomplishment of justice on Duke John of Burgundy. Moreover, the said king will make no treaties or alliances or agreement with the said Duke of Burgundy, or his children, brothers, cousins, and allies without the consent of the said lords.

And it was agreed that the King of England should aid the said lords as his true vassals in all their just quarrels, and in obtaining recompence for the injuries and trespasses unjustly committed against them by Duke John of Burgundy and his allies.

[1] The words in brackets are omitted in A.

And also the said king would presently send them A.D. 1412.
eight thousand fighting men to give aid to them against the said Duke of Burgundy, who was endeavouring to bring the King of France against them. Which letters of confederation and alliance between the said parties were sealed with the seals of the two parties the eighth day of May one thousand four hundred and twelve.

The above-named lords promised however to pay the men-at-arms which the King of England was to furnish, for which they bound themselves sufficiently.

This promise the King of England did not fail to keep, for at the time when the King of England was in this intention the King of France was laying siege to Bourges, at which time there came the said English, under the leadership of Sir Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son of King Henry, as is declared above.

In this year happened great tribulations throughout the world.

Here it makes mention of the death of this King Henry of England, fourth of that name. CHAPTER XXXI.

ABOUT the end of the year one thousand four hundred A.D. 1413.
and twelve, the sixteenth day of March, [died] Henry of Lancaster, King of England, fourth of that name, who in his time had been a very valiant knight and governed the kingdom very vigorously for the space of thirteen years, during which term of thirteen years he had been much feared and dreaded by his enemies; very wise and crafty was he in the business of war, and in everything in which he chose to concern himself maintained his realm in peace and justice, as hereafter in the fifth volume is plainly declared; who, as is said above, in order to attain to the honour and possession

A.D. 1413. of the kingdom, caused King Richard, his cousin-german, to be piteously murdered. But the said King Henry, as soon as he had usurped the crown, fell ill of the malady of leprosy, by which he was so afflicted that at last he lay on his death-bed, and he sank so suddenly that the guards who were round him hardly perceived it until he was so far gone that he had neither warmth nor breath, therefore they covered his face, as is the custom of the country. Within his chamber upon a couch on a cushion of cloth of gold, and close to him was his royal crown, which after his death belonged, according to the rule of succession, to Henry his eldest son, Prince of Wales, who, informed by the guards that his father was dead as they thought, came into the chamber to seize the crown as heir and carried it off on the hint of the said guards. But it happened that very soon after the king being in this state uttered a sigh, whereby the guards discovered that he was alive, and he returned to consciousness and cast his glance on the place where his crown had been before, and when he saw it not asked where it was, and they said to him: "Sire, my lord the prince your son has "carried it away." Then he sent for his son to come to him, who came, and the king asked him why he had carried away his crown, to which the prince answered and said: "My lord, they had assured me "that you had given up the ghost, and inasmuch as "I am your eldest son and to me and to none other "will your realm belong if I survive you, I took it." When the king had thought a little he said: "And "how, fair son, have you a right to it, for I never had "any, that you know well;" and the prince replied "My lord, as you have held and guarded it with the "sword, so is it my intention to hold, guard, and defend "it all my life." And then said the king to him: "Fair son, do now with it as shall seem good to you. "I leave the rest to God and to you, to whom I pray

" that he will have pity and mercy on my soul." Then very soon after without speaking any more King Henry ended his life. And he was interred well and honourably, and afterwards was taken on a boat on the river Thames to Gravesend, and thence borne on a litter to Canterbury, where he was placed in a very rich sepulchre of brass near the shrine of Saint Thomas. And on the other side lies the noble Prince of Wales, his uncle, who was father to King Richard, whose kingdom he had usurped, as has been narrated above. A.D. 1413.

And so ends the fourth volume of these chronicles of England, and we will begin the fifth at the coronation of King Henry his son, fifth of that name, pursuing it to the year seventy-two, when the gracious Edward reigns triumphantly.

A.D. 1413. HERE BEGINS THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, WHICH CONTAINS IN ITSELF SIX SEPARATE BOOKS, EACH DIVIDED INTO CHAPTERS THE FIRST BOOK CONTAINING THIRTY-FOUR CHAPTERS, IN THE FIRST OF WHICH IT SPEAKS OF THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND OF THE EMBASSY WHICH HE SENT TO CONSTANCE. CHAPTER I.

As has been already told at the end of the fourth volume, King Henry of Lancaster ended his days, and was buried with great honour. He left four sons, of whom the first, named Henry, was Prince of Wales, and succeeded to the crown of England at the death of King Henry his father, as I shall tell in continuing the matter of this present volume. The second son was named Thomas Duke of Clarence; the third, John Duke of Bedford; the fourth, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. And he had also a daughter, who was married to Duke Louis of Bavaria, who was called the red duke. Which four sons above named were all good knights, and well educated in moral science, and each of them afterwards held a high command in the wars between France and England, in which they all behaved valiantly as will be hereafter set forth in continuing our present work. Now then, after the said King Henry the Fourth was dead, and his funeral rites performed, Henry his son, Prince of Wales, and his three brothers set out from Canterbury, and with them all the other princes, barons, knights, bishops, abbots, and other noblemen, of whom there was a great number; so they came to London, where they brought the said Prince of Wales, and where all matters necessary and suitable for his coronation were prepared. And then

the said Prince of Wales went to his palace at West- A.D. 1413.
minster, accompanied in high state by his three brothers above-named, and also by all the princes, prelates, and barons of his kingdom; there he was anointed, consecrated, and crowned king; and there appeared no man of whatever estate that wished to oppose it. After the coronation of King Henry the fifth of that name the affairs of the kingdom were attended to, to keep it in good order.

The Duke of York, who at the time of the death of the king his brother was in Guienne with a large army, hearing these tidings repaired to London; but before his departure, left the fortresses in Guienne and Bordelois well supplied with men-at-arms and archers, to hold their frontiers against the French. When the said Duke of York had arrived, and been grandly entertained, many councils were held about the wars with France, for the truce had not yet expired which had before been made between the two kings and kingdoms, but it had still a certain time to continue. Finally, however, this new king, in order to gratify the Londoners and the people of his kingdom, sent men-at-arms to Calais, and gave orders to begin the war against the French, which the people of Calais were ready to listen to; so they began to overrun and greatly to trouble the country of Boullenois, in such wise that the Constable of France reinforced the garrisons of the castles which were on the frontiers of Calais; so they began to make inroads the one upon the other, carrying on the bitterest possible warfare, to the great oppression and injury of the poor people; but pretty soon afterwards the truce was renewed for two years.

While these things were going on, and in this same year 1413,[1] the new King Henry sent to the King of France to request a safe-conduct for an embassy which

[1] *Quatre cens et treize* in A.

A.D. 1413. he was sending to Constance in Germany, and of which the chief was the Earl of Warick, which safe-conduct was granted by the king and his great council, and was carried by Garter the herald of England to Calais, at which place the Earl of Warwick, three bishops, three abbots, and many notable knights, and clergy, doctors in theology and law, to the number of eight hundred horse, were awaiting it. So they set out from Calais and made such good way that they came to the said place, Constance, where the council then was. Here the English lords were honourably received and grandly entertained by the King of the Romans, Emperor of Germany, at whose coronation the said English ambassadors were present.

During this year there was great quarrelling among the princes of the kingdom of France, arising out of the death of the Duke of Orleans, whom the Duke of Burgundy had caused to be killed, as you have heard already in the fourth volume.

How King Henry of England sent an embassy to King Charles of France. CHAPTER II.

A SHORT time afterwards, King Henry of England sent to the King of France an embassy, of which the Earl of Dorset was chief, and with him were Earl Grey, the Admiral of England, the Bishop of Norwich, and other bishops, abbots, and many noblemen and clergy, to the number of fully six hundred horse, all as an embassy to endeavour to negotiate the marriage of the Lady Catherine, daughter of the King of France, with King Henry of England; which ambassadors being come to Paris, were lodged in the hotel of the Temple. The French people were sorely amazed at the

grand and pompous style which they kept up, and A.D. 1413.
their lavish expenditure both in their hotels and in going through the town. Soon after the arrival of the said ambassadors at Paris, there was given a splendid entertainment of jousts and tourneys, dances, and various amusements, in which the English appeared everywhere with such display as showed they belonged to a very powerful prince; for they were so richly dressed, and adorned with cloth of gold and silk, with chains and collars of gold set with precious stones, so that the company marvelled greatly at the sight of their luxuries, for most of the highest princes of the kingdom of France were then at Paris. Here also was the queen, and in her company many duchesses, countesses, and baronesses, with other noble dames and damsels in surpassing numbers; and as for the names of the dukes, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, to set them forth would occasion great prolixity and lengthening out of my matter, so I will pass it by. The said festival lasted eight whole days; and the people of Paris especially entered cordially into it, because the Duke of Burgundy was restored to the favour of the king, at which every one showed great joy; and on account of which it seemed indeed to the French people as if none could ever harm them again.

During this festival the ambassadors from England were called, and audience was granted for them to make known their message and the commission which they had from King Henry and the English council; all which they declared at length and in the manner that had been commanded them. Then there was made to them a rather cold reply concerning their demand, for with the Lady Catherine, the daughter of King Charles, they (the English) required to have the country of Normandy with a large sum of money; also they demanded several fortresses, castles, and towns in the country of Guienne, which the King of France and

A.D. 1413. his counsellors were not willing to grant. Therefore, when the reply had been made to the said ambassadors, they took leave of the king and the lords. So they left Paris, and ceased not to ride on their journey till they got to Calais, from which they crossed the sea to Dover, and thence to London, where they found the king and with him his uncle the Duke of York and a large gathering of nobility. The ambassadors were joyfully received and congratulated by the king, who inquired concerning their journey, and how they had managed. They told at full length all they had met with, and the answer which had been given them by the King of France and his council, with which answer the king and his English people were not pleased, therefore after mature deliberation letters and summonses were promptly written, and sent everywhere to the princes, prelates, and barons of the kingdom of England, signifying that they all should be with the king on the fifteenth day of March, in the year one thousand four hundred and fourteen, about some business touching the honour, welfare, and advantage of the kingdom. None of those who were thus called failed to take the journey; rather all who were summoned came quickly and willingly. But before they had either arrived or assembled, King Henry, who was the most virtuous and prudent of all the Christian princes reigning in his time, in order to clear and release the soul of his late father, had a chariot made covered with black; then he sent to seek the corpse of King Richard, which King Henry his father had buried in a little church near Pontefract; and he had it brought to London accompanied by bishops, abbots, knights, and esquires, with a great number of lighted torches; and they passed through London to the church of St. Paul, where the corpse rested that night, and the next day it was taken to Westminster, and there after a funeral service performed it was with great solemnity placed

in the vault which he had had made in his lifetime for himself and the queen his first wife, who was the daughter of the King of Bohemia. This thing having been thus accomplished, King Henry went to Windsor till near the day of Parliament, when he came to[1] London in order to be at the Parliament which he had appointed, and to which he had summoned the estates of his kingdom as has been said. A.D. 1414.

Of a great army which the King of England raised, with the intention of crossing to France; and of the embassy which the King of the French sent to England. CHAPTER III.

THEN when King Henry saw those come whom he had summoned he ordered that his palace at Westminster should be prepared, to which he came, and was seated in his royal chair, and all being present, he made the ambassadors newly returned from France explain the mission which he had confided to them, with the reply and refusal which had been given them, with which he was much displeased, as were also all the princes and prelates of his kingdom [there assembled]; whom the king requested and in fact commanded to give each one his opinion of what appeared to him the best thing to be done. It was there deliberated, concluded, and confirmed by the common consent of all, that the king should make a call for men at arms throughout the kingdom in the greatest force that could be got, with the intention of entering France, and there conquering towns and fortresses, aye, and the whole kingdom if they could, and in order to have shipping enough to transport his said army, he sent messengers into the countries of Holland and Zealand, who, by dint of assuring the A.D. 1415.

[1] This is the reading of H., the text of A. is corrupt.

A.D. 1415. mariners that they would be well paid, were promised that as many ships would be sent as were wanted to carry the whole army.

After this deliberation held as you have heard, King Henry made preparation of all matters necessary for warfare, as victuals, artillery, armour, horses, and generally all things pertaining to carrying on war. And for paying soldiers means were found of raising money largely throughout the kingdom of England, even to the amount of five hundred thousand nobles. And finally by the mature counsel and consent of the princes, with the advice of the estates of his kingdom, it was determined that the king in his own person should make a descent upon France as quickly as he could and in as great force as possible. Of these determinations and preparations the King of France was soon warned; and on this account when the Duke of Guienne, who had taken the government of the kingdom because of the malady with which his father was sorely afflicted, heard the news of these preparations, he assembled the great council of France, and summoned to his presence at Paris the Duke of Berry, his uncle, and numerous other lords and wise men of the kingdom, with whom he held several consultations, in order to have advice and deliberation as to how he could conduct himself in this matter. After several opinions had been debated it was at length determined that they should collect and prepare men at arms throughout all the lands of the realm to be ready to resist the enterprise and the power of the King of England as soon as they knew of his arrival; and besides, they ordered garrisons to be placed in all the towns and fortresses situated on the sea coast. Then it was considered whence they could take money to pay these men at arms, and further they determined that a solemn embassy should be sent to the King of England, to make some reason-

able proposals concerning the demands which the late ambassadors of King Henry had made. To serve in this embassy there were deputed and commissioned the Count of Vendôme, Maitre John Bouratier, Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishop of Liseux, named Maitre Pierre Fannel, the Lords of Yuri and Bracquemont, Maitre Gaultier Col, secretary of the king, and Maitre John Andrieu, with some others of the great council of France; who, the truce still continuing between the two kings and kingdoms, set out from Paris, and proceeded by Amiens and Montreuil to Boulogne, whence they crossed the sea to Dover. The said French ambassadors were about three hundred and fifty horsemen, who rode from Dover to Canterbury, where they were received by the servants of King Henry, who conducted them through Rochester to London, and to Winchester, at which place King Henry was, and with him the great princes, prelates, and estates of his kingdom, before whom the Archbishop of Bourges propounded and explained his embassy, and the commission which he had from the King of France. All which the archbishop explained first in Latin, and afterwards in French, so eloquently, so distinctly, so fearlessly and wisely, that the English, and even his fellow ambassadors, marvelled greatly. At the close of his address, the archbishop offered the King of England a large extent of country, and a great sum of money, with the daughter of the King of France whom he should take to wife, on condition that the said king should break up the army which he was collecting at Southampton and other neighbouring ports with the intention of wasting the kingdom of France; and thus that the King of France and his council would be satisfied to make and agree to a permanent and perfect peace with him and his kingdom. After the said proposal and offer thus finished, the French went to dine with the king, where they were honourably A.D. 1415.

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A.D. 1415. feasted, and grandly received. On a certain day afterwards King Henry made reply to the said French ambassadors on the proposals above narrated by [the mouth of] the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in replying point by point to the articles of the French, added some things thereto and left others untouched, for which the said Archbishop of Canterbury was severely reproved by him of Bourges when occasion arose, answering, "I did not say thus, but thus, in such and such a way." At the close of these answers and objections, it was concluded by the English that if the King of France did not give King Henry with his daughter the duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy, Anjou and Touraine, with the counties of Poitou, Le Mans, and Ponthieu, together with all things formerly pertaining by inheritance to the Kings of England his predecessors, he would in no wise forego his expedition, enterprise, and army, but would in every direction and to the utmost of his power destroy the lands of his adversary the King of France and his kingdom, to which he said he had a very great right if justice were done him, which that the King of France wrongfully hindered as an unjust detainer of his inheritance, wherefore he intended to recover all his property, and even to take from him the crown of the fleur de lys. In the presence of the whole audience King Henry with his own mouth vouched for all that the Archbishop of Canterbury had said, protesting that thus he would do by the permission of God, and thus to do he swore to the said French ambassadors.

Of the reply of the Archbishop of Bourges, and of the letters which the King of England sent to the King of France. CHAPTER IV.

WHEN the Archbishop of Bourges, chief of the French embassy, heard these words, he, according to the usage of France, requested leave of the king to speak, which was graciously accorded to him. Then the archbishop began to speak thus: "O king, with "reverence [I ask], thinkest thou unjustly to expel and "put down the most Christian King of France, our "sovereign lord, the most noble and rightful of all "living princes, from the throne and possession of so "powerful a kingdom and so exalted a throne? O king "[I ask] with reverence, believest thou that he has "offered or caused to be offered to give thee land "and treasure, with his own daughter to wife, through "fear of thee and of thy English people and well-"wishers or allies? Certainly not. But in truth, "moved by pity and the love of peace, he has done "this, in order to avoid the shedding of innocent and "Christian blood; and calling to his aid the Almighty "God, with the glorious Virgin Mary his mother, "and all the saints[1] in favour of his good right "and just quarrel, [I say] with reverence, that by "his arms and those of his loyal vassals, well-"wishers, and allies, thou shalt be driven from the "regions of his kingdom, and of his entire dominions, "or thou shalt be taken prisoner or die. Now, for "the honour of the noble king, whose messengers we "are, we pray thee only that thou wilt cause us to "be safely conducted out of thy dominions, and that "thou wilt write the answer to the said king our A.D. 1415.

[1] *Sains et saintes* in the text.

A.D. 1415. " sire entirely under thy seal and sign manual." Which thing King Henry graciously granted them; and in this way the said ambassadors, after receiving large gifts from the king, took leave, and returned to Dover, and thence to Calais, and thence to Paris to the Duke of Guienne, to whom, the nobles, clergy, and estates of the kingdom being present, they related by articles all the proceedings of their embassy. The reply being heard, the Duke of Guienne, and those of the great council of France, departed in great wrath; for the kingdom was then in such confusion through the dissensions which were amongst them, in consequence of the death of the Duke of Orleans, that they knew not which way to turn first. And for this cause King Henry of England, who was one of the most sagacious princes in the world, seeing these quarrels, and civil wars springing up among the French, especially between Orleans and Burgundy, considered that there never was a better time than now to enter upon the conquest of France, because of the great discord which he saw in it. Thus then, for the reasons above mentioned, which principally moved the King of England to this, he used great diligence to carry forward his operations for furnishing his said enterprise, causing his people and his baggage to move towards the place of the sea passage, Southampton.[1] So that the fifteenth[2] day of August, 1415, being passed, when the truce between the two kingdoms expired, the said king began to open the war by the English of Calais and others on the frontiers, who overran and devastated the surrounding lands, and to resist whom there were sent five hundred fighting men under the command of the Lord of Rambures, master of the cross-bowmen of France, and with him the Lord of Longroy. Shortly afterwards, King Henry, who had his require-

[1] The text in MS. A. is not clear, but this is the sense of that in H.

[2] Second, H.

ments almost ready for crossing into France, sent one A.D. 1415.
of his heralds, named Rochester, to Paris to King Charles to present a letter, the tenor of which was as follows:

"To the most noble Prince Charles of Valois, our " cousin and enemy of France, Henry, by the grace " of God, King of England and France. To give to " every one that which is his own is a work of true " inspiration and wise counsel. Most noble prince, our " cousin and adversary, aforetime the noble kingdoms " of England and France were at one, now they are " disunited; then they were accustomed to distinguish " themselves throughout the whole world by their " glorious conquests. And with them it was a singular " virtue to beautify and adorn the house of God, to " which holiness belongs, promoting peace and unity " in the church by fighting together, and happily sub- " jugating the public enemies of the most holy catholic " faith. But alas! this family fidelity has turned to " fraternal slaughter, and Lot persecutes Abraham " through human impulse; ancient feud has been raised " from death to life; but we call to witness in good " conscience the sovereign Judge who is not bent or " biassed by prayers or gifts, that to the utmost of " our power through pure love we have endeavoured " after means of peace towards you, which we have not " been able to find, except in restraining our just claim " of inheritance, to the prejudice of ourselves and our " successors, which God forbid; but since it is meet " in order to retrieve the smallness of our former " courage, we mean to fight to the death for justice. " The law written in the book of Deuteronomy " teaches: 'Whatever city a man comes near to, to " 'defy it to battle, he shall first offer it peace;' and " though violence, the ravisher of justice, has long " since abridged the splendour of our kingdom and " crown, and our rightful heritage, nevertheless charity

A.D. 1415. " on our part has done her duty, as far as she could,
" to restore these things to their former condition; and
" thus then in default of justice we can have recourse
" to arms. Notwithstanding this, and in order that
" our honour may be witness to our conscience, we
" now by personal request at our departure on the
" way whither this failure of justice leads us, exhort
" you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that which the
" perfection of evangelical teaching exhorts, namely,
" 'Friend, pay that which thou owest,' and make to us
" according to the will of Almighty God, and in order
" that human blood, which is created after God, be
" not shed, due restoration of the inheritance cruelly
" taken away, or at least of the things which by our
" ambassadors and messengers we have earnestly and
" frequently declared sufficient, and with which we are
" made content only by supreme reverence for God
" Almighty, and the benefit of peace. And we for our
" part, in consideration of the marriage, are disposed
" to forego and dispense with 50,000 golden crowns
" formerly offered us. We love peace more than
" gain; and we have chosen these patrimonial rights
" which our venerable ancestors left us so largely,
" and our dear cousin Catherine, [your] illustrious
" daughter, rather than with the wages of iniquity to
" multiply evil treasures, and disinherit through men
" the crown of our kingdom, which God forbid!

" Given under our privy seal in our castle of
" Southampton on the seashore, the fifth day of the
" month of August, 1415."

After these letters had been presented by the aforesaid herald to the King of France, it was told him by one appointed to do it, that the King and his council had seen the letters which he had brought from his lord the King of England, on which they would take counsel, and would provide for everything at the time and place that seemed best to them; and that

he might go when he pleased, and make his report to his master, for this was the only reply that he could have for the present. A.D. 1415.

How the King of England making his muster at Southampton, some princes plotted against him, on whom he took vengeance. Of the capture of Harfleur and other operations. CHAPTER V.

SOMETHING has been said above about the great amount of men-at-arms and archers which the King of England placed under arms at the port of Southampton to cross into France, whither he came in person when he knew that all was ready. But before his departure from London he appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to govern and rule his kingdom of England, and maintain it in peace and justice. He appointed also bailiffs and provosts with good guards throughout all the ports of England to keep them in safety; then he set out, accompanied by his uncle the Duke of York, and his son the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of March, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Kent, Lord de Ros, the Lord of Cornwall,[1] and many other barons and knights; they numbered, as it was then said, about twenty thousand[2] fighting men, of whom more than ten thousand were archers.

When the King of England had been some time at Southampton, and had sent to the King of France the letter of which the preceding chapter contains the tenor, and when he had got the answer by his herald,

[1] Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope.

[2] Sixteen to twenty thousand, H.

A.D. 1415. on the very day before that on which he was to set out, there arose a plot and sudden conspiracy against him. Truth is, the Earl of Cambridge, nephew of the Duke of York, and with him the Lords Scrope and Cobham, went to the Earl of March, who was then held to be the true heir of the late King Richard, and spoke to him secretly, showing him how he was the true heir of England, through the death of King Richard, and that he should find some manner of excuse by pretence of sickness or otherwise for not crossing the sea to go into France with King Henry; and if he remained in England and would trust them, they would make him king. To these proposals and arguments the Earl of March replied that this was a very weighty matter, so he would consider it, and then he would answer them, at which word the lords above named departed from the Earl of March without saying more; and the earl thought very much that night over the matter which they had sounded him about. When morning came the Earl of March, having wisely considered, found means of speaking to the king in private, so he disclosed the proposals which the said lords were making to him and the counsel they were giving him, saying to the king, "Sire, I hold you for "my sovereign lord, and wish entirely to keep the "oath of fidelity that I have sworn to you, even to "death, without ever going against it." King Henry, who was wise and inventive, thought much about this affair, and said to the Earl of March, "Fair cousin, "I thank you very greatly for your loyalty, and the "well-being that you wish me; do not allow yourself "to speak to any one of this thing till I command "you." Then the king assembled his great council, with the princes and captains of his army, before whom he represented in the manner of a fable what follows, saying that he had heard that some of his subjects had been working against him, and, in fact,

wished to persevere in this, to dethrone him utterly, A.D. 1415.
and exclude him from the possession of the crown of England, which thing he would not believe. So he requested of all those who were there their opinions of this thing, that is to say, if it were true, that they would faithfully advise him of what he had to do, or what he should not do with those who devised such treason against him. Concerning this, he swore first the greatest lords and chiefs of his council and army, then came to the Earl of Cambridge and the Lords Scrope and Cobham, who replied to the king, "Sire, "he or those who would devise or practise such "treason against you, are worthy to suffer a death so "cruel that it may be an example to all others," and similarly said all those who were at the council, and that they could not be put to death by torments too cruel. This council having been held, and all the opinions heard, as has been said, the king caused the Earls of March and Cambridge to be confronted and made to speak in each other's presence, together with the Lords Scrope and Cobham, and there, without much fine language and without gainsaying, the above-mentioned lords confessed the said deed they had advised the Earl of March, all in the manner that has been told above. Then the king, very angry at the thing which had come to pass through the said lords, whom he greatly loved, especially Lord Scrope, who many times had slept with the king and in his chamber, had them all three beheaded, then cut into four quarters and sent to the four principal towns of England.

Not long after the accomplishment of this justice the king put to sea, and drew towards France, with the intention of recovering his rightful inheritance. So it came to pass that when the king had embarked in his ship, and all his company were ready to start, fire broke out in the midst of the vessels, and three

A.D. 1415. large ones were quite destroyed, so that little was saved of all that was in them; and it was a great wonder that there was not more damage, but every one withdrew as well as he could from the fire, for no one durst approach it, it spread so easily. These two misfortunes, that is to say, the said treason, and the three vessels being burned and destroyed, happened to King Henry at his departure from England to cross to France, at which most of his followers wondered and greatly feared for more difficulties. And because these things had occurred there were among them those who advised King Henry not to go any further, which advice he was unwilling to trust; but he sailed out, he and all his army, so that on the night of the Assumption of Our Lady he came to port in a harbour which is between Harfleur and Honfleur, where the water of the Somme[1] falls into the sea. There might be eight hundred vessels loaded with people and equipments of war, all which were landed without loss. When all were disembarked, the king found lodging in a priory at Graville, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his brothers, pretty near him, while the Duke of York and Earl of Dorset, his uncles, the Bishop of Norwich,[2] and all the other great lords housed themselves as best they could in the neighbourhood. And the next day they very strongly besieged the town of Harfleur, which is the marine key of the country of Normandy; then they formed their seige as they were accustomed to do, so made their approaches, and with their bombards and engines began to assail them in every direction. Into the town of Harfleur there had entered with its inhabitants about three

[1] Should be *Seine*.

[2] MS. H. adds the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Marshal, the Earl of Kent (Kyme), the Lords Comberge (the Earl of Cambridge), Bremont, Willoughby, Trompanton, Cornwall, and Mallifiacq.

hundred French men-at-arms to guard and defend it, A D. 1415.
among whom were the Lord of Estouteville, captain of the said town of Harfleur on behalf of the King of France; and with him the Lords of Villantville, Hacqueville, Hermanville, Gaillart-Bos, Clere, Bethondes, Gaucourt, Lisle-Adam, and several other knights and esquires to the number above mentioned, resisting the English valiantly, which availed nothing because of the great power of the enemy, and they were so hardly pressed that it was with great difficulty they got back into the town.

Before the descent of the King of England the French had caused the road between Montivilliers and the said town of Harfleur to be broken up to make the road difficult for the English, and had carried the stones into the town. The English then being there maintaining the siege, foraged, overran, and pillaged the surrounding country to victual their army, also they took prisoners and did innumerable injuries as soldiers are accustomed to do. On the other hand, King Henry, who was very cunning, went often round the town incognito, to judge which part was the easiest and most convenient to take it from, and where it was most suitable to place his large engines, with which he so damaged the towers and the wall, and so distressed the people of the town that they were greatly confounded. Nevertheless, they defended themselves to the best of their power, and killed many of the English with their cross-bows and bolts. Then there were only two open gates by which the French could make sallies, the one was that of Montivilliers and the other opposite, by which they daily went out to skirmish with the free English; but their skirmishes profited them but little, for the English by their arrows drove them back within their walls surrounded by deep and wide trenches. Now there happened a great misfortune to the besieged,

A.D. 1415. for the King of France sent them a great abundance of powder and arrows, of which the King of England was informed, and he sent hastily some of his people, who seized them and took them to his army.

Meanwhile the King of France sent a number of men to the city of Rouen and to the frontier of the English; first the constable and Marshal Boucicault, the seneschal of Hainault; the Lord of Hamede, Sir Clugnet of Brabant, and several other captains, who to the best of their power and very diligently protected the country, in such wise that while the English were sitting before Harfleur they conquered nothing on the frontier; and already they were reduced to great difficulty, often riding in force over the flat country in search of food and adventure; for they asked for nothing better than to encounter the French, who kept themselves so wisely and so successfully, that the King of England and his army were often in great want of food, for the provisions which they had brought with them from their own country were as if quite spoiled by the sea air. Besides all other mischief, there broke out in the English army the disease of diarrhœa, of which at least two thousand died, among whom the principal were the Bishop of Norwich, the Earl of Stanfort, Lord Beaumont, Lord Trompanton, and Maurice Brunel, with many other noblemen, all of whom I cannot name.

Notwithstanding which things the King of England ceased not to prosecute diligently the work of his siege, and caused three mines to be dug beneath the wall, ready to destroy it, and besides this he caused his great engines to ruin and beat down the gates and towers. Finally, seeing and acknowledging these things, the besieged, knowing that they were daily in great danger of being taken by force, parleyed with King Henry, and went so far that they surrendered to him on condition that if they were not relieved

within three days, they would come out of the town, A.D. 1415.
saving only their lives, which they would redeem by ransom, and to secure this bargain they gave good hostages.

This being done, the French in the garrison sent some of their people to seek help, and these found the Duke of Guienne, son of the King of France, at Vernon-sur-Seine; so they showed him the condition and need they were in, they and all the people of the town of Harfleur, and they very humbly prayed their lord the king and him that within the term of three days they might be assisted, or otherwise the town would be surrendered to the King of England, his enemy, and those who had hitherto kept it, would be delivered to him as prisoners. To these it was gently answered, that the forces of the King of France were not yet collected, or ready to afford them succour so hastily, upon which the people of Harfleur returned to their companions, who, the report having been made, surrendered themselves and the town to King Henry on St. Maurice's day (on the condition above mentioned, which was duly kept towards them, to the great regret of all loyal Frenchmen), for, as has been said above, it was without exception the chief port of all Normandy, and the most advantageous for carrying on their war in that quarter.

Of the orders which the King of France sent throughout his kingdom, to resist the enterprise of his adversary the King of England. CHAPTER VI.

Now it is true that when it came to the knowledge of the King of France, his princes, and great council how the town of Harfleur had surrendered into the hands of the English, fearing that the King of England

A.D. 1415. would make further attempts on the kingdom, and, in order to resist him, word was sent throughout the whole kingdom that every one should bestir himself with the greatest force he could obtain. And besides this the King of France wrote to all the great towns of his kingdom what he had endeavoured to do towards the King of England, by embassies as well as messengers carrying letters, but nothing had availed; wherefore he prayed and commanded all his vassals and subjects, as well in Picardy as elsewhere, that they should come and serve him diligently, in order to repel his said adversary, who was striving to devastate and destroy his kingdom, ordering all to resort to his son the Duke of Guienne. All obeyed these orders, and came in great force; albeit Duke John of Burgundy, on account of the war which he had in France against the Orleans children, commanded by his letters patent to the Lords of Picardy, namely, to the Lords of Croy, Wavrin, Fosseux, Crequy, Heuchin, Brimeu, Maumez, La Vieville, Beaufort, Inchy, Noyelle, Noefville, and other noblemen that they should not leave their houses till he instructed them. Nevertheless they obeyed the command of the king in this matter.

How the King of England entered Harfleur, how he went towards Calais, and what happened to him on the way. CHAPTER VII.

AFTER the French of Harfleur had come out of the town, the King of England and his delegates entered it; but at the threshold of the gate he alighted from his horse; then he caused his shoes to be taken off; and thus barefooted he proceeded to the church of St. Martin, the patron saint of the town; and there he

very devoutly made offerings and orisons, thanking his Creator for the good fortune; and afterwards all the nobles were secured in prisons; and some warriors were set free in their doublets; and these swore to surrender themselves prisoners in the town of Calais on the ensuing day of St. Martin in the winter. And likewise several of the burgesses of the town agreed to ransom themselves with large sums of money; and besides all these there were allowed to go out a great number of women and children. And there was granted to each at departing five sous, and some of their least valuable garments; and it was a pitiful thing to hear the wailings and lamentations which the said inhabitants of Harfleur made at leaving the town and their property. Moreover, all the priests and churchmen were set free; and there were found there valuables without number, which the king ordered according to his pleasure, distributing them where he pleased, and giving them to those by whom it seemed to him they would be well employed. There were still two large towers on the sea that held out for two days after the surrender of the town; then they surrendered like the rest. Afterwards the King of England sent to England in the ship that had carried him, some of his prisoners, namely, the Lord of Estouteville and the Lord of Gaucourt, with the spoil which he had gained by the capture of the said town, and with several men ill with the plague of diarrhœa. And then because of this disease there returned to England the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Arundel, and several other noblemen; and it was said that by this malady the good King Henry had lost quite five hundred knights and esquires, besides other people of low rank. And likewise the king sent his heavy artillery with some common people by sea to Calais, the ship being taken to England by the said Duke of Clarence, captain general. A.D. 1415.

A.D. 1415. After these matters were arranged, King Henry had the walls, towers, and moats of the town of Harfleur repaired; then he placed as a garrison the Duke of Exeter, with five hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers; and with the said duke was Sir John Le Blond, knight, and the town was furnished with provisions and artillery, and with all appurtenances of war necessary for its safety.

After the said King of England had sojourned fifteen days in the town of Harfleur, he departed, endeavouring to go to Calais. At his departure he arranged his men in three battalions; the vanguard was led by the Earls of Kent and Cornwall; in the centre division with the king were the Duke of Gloucester, his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, and his brother, the great Lord De Ros, with several others; the rear guard was commanded by the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford.

In this order the King of England journeyed in the midst of his troops through the lands of Normandy, burning and destroying all before him; for he had in his army at least two thousand men-at-arms, and fourteen thousand archers. And he encamped at Fauvelle and the neighbouring places; then passed through the country of Caoursin towards the county of Eu, and sent his couriers to the town of Eu, where there were in garrison many of the French. These sallied out against them, and among them was a valiant man-at-arms named Lancelot Pierre, upon whom rushed a renowned Englishman; but the Frenchman drove his lance right through his body, and so did the English esquire to him; so they fell both dead on the ground, and were much regretted, each by his own party.

The King of England, leaving the camp above mentioned, intended to ford the Vimeu, and cross the Somme, at a place called la Blanche Tache, to start

from it to Calais on the direct road by which his ancestor King Edward formerly passed when he gained the battle of Cressy against Philippe of Valois, King of France.[1] But when he came within about two leagues of the said passage, there happened what follows, as it was told me by a gentleman who was afterwards king-at-arms of the order of the Golden Fleece, in the house of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and who, as he said was all along with this cavalcade, and was even one great cause of dissuading King Henry from crossing there. A.D. 1415.

When the King of England and his army were proceeding by the most direct way that they could towards la Blanche Tache, the vanguard scoured the

[1] The following important addition occurs in M.S. H. instead of the words ending with "a gentleman" on the next page: *But when he came to about two leagues' distance from the said passage, as I have heard a nobleman certify who on this day was the cause of hindering the English King from the passage [then happened what follows]: this gentleman was afterwards called Golden Fleece, King-at-Arms of the noble order of the Fleece which Duke Philip of Burgundy, father of Duke Charles, first established, which gentleman, of whom I speak, who on account of his good sense and probity chosen king of the said order, was at the time of the fight of Azincourt of the age of nineteen, and was in company with the said King of England in all the affairs of this time, and I, the author of this present work, being then of the age of fifteen, was in the French army. And we were acquainted and found ourselves together since that time, the said Golden Fleece and I, and agreed about these present matters by way of pastime, so that to drive away idleness, the mother of vices, I have taken pleasure in bringing together in writing the things which happened in our time, and especially the great and mighty deeds of the Kings of England, taking my commencement with Albina and her sisters who first inhabited the island of England, which from the said Albina had the name of Albion, as is, in the first book of these present chronicles, treated of at length. Now then to re-enter on our matter and pursue the journey which King Henry took after the taking of the town of Harfleur, and to relate the adventures which he had in coming thence to Calais and hastening towards la Blanche Tache intending there to cross the River Somme, and certain horsemen of his vanguard went out scouting, and captured a gentleman, &c., &c.*

A.D. 1415. country, and took prisoner a gentleman who was a native of Gascony, and the servant of Sir Charles of Labrech, then constable of France, which gentleman was handsomely mounted and armed, so that he appeared to be a man of good presence in his mien and bearing; but I do not know what I ought to say of him, because of the sad misfortune which followed, for if at that hour the gentleman had not been taken, the King of England would have crossed at la Blanche Tache without hindrance or opposition to proceed safely to Calais; and there would not have been that evil day for the French which befel by reason of the battle of Azincourt, as shall afterwards be told. Concerning this gentleman of Gascony, whom many Frenchmen have called devil and not man, it is true that when the English had taken the said Gascon, they brought him before the chiefs of the vanguard, and he was asked whence he came, of what country he was, and the name of his master. He replied that he was born in Gascony, and that he had just come out of Abbeville where he had left his master, the constable of France. And after much questioning they asked him whether the crossing at Blanche Tache was guarded by anyone; to which he answered yes, and that several great lords were there, such as Sir Guichart Daulphin, and the Marshal Boucicault, and in their company six thousand good fighting men, well furnished with artillery to keep the said passage, and this he affirmed to be true, or they might cut off his head. Because of these tidings the said Gascon was brought before the King of England, and there questioned anew, while all the battalions were ordered to halt. When the king heard the esquire thus swear and affirm that the said passage was so carefully guarded, he assembled his princes, to deliberate on this thing in a council which lasted at least two hours, and in which it was at last

determined that he should take some other way than A.D. 1415.
the Blanche Tache; for they believed the affirmation of the Gascon to be true. It is to be supposed that the said Gascon carried out this deception through the desire that he had for a fight, for the French were not yet mustered, nor were they till eight days afterwards. Notwithstanding this, King Henry and his people, giving credence to the words of the Gascon, marched up the river Somme, expecting from day to day to find a passage over it. And the same day that the Gascon was taken the king and his army lodged pretty near Abbeville, at Marcul, Pont-Remy, and other villages thereabouts, burning and destroying wherever they passed. And on the second day that the King of England had taken the road up the river Somme, he thought to obtain a crossing at a narrow part; but the Lords of Waucourt and Pont-Remy, accompanied by several Frenchmen, prevented him; besides, the river there was very deep; so the host passed on, and went to lodge at Croy, Neige, and other villages near Picquigny. The third day the English arranged themselves in order of battle on a fine plain before the town of Amiens; then took their way to Bouves, where they lodged. On this land there were numerous vineyards in which was a great quantity of wine in tubs and wine presses; and there many of the archers and comrades went to seek wine, with which the king was displeased, and he kept them from it as much as he could. And they asked him why he did so,[1] and said it was fit that brave men should fill their bottles. To which he replied that most of them made bottles of their bellies without measure, and that he feared they would intoxicate themselves. This village is situated on the river, where he had plenty of lodging places;

[1] The text is defective. MS. H. supplies the necessary words.

A.D. 1415. and upon a little rock is seated a fine castle, which town and fortress of Bouves are in the county of Vaudemon. Here the English were in great want of bread; and the said village was taxed at eight baskets of bread, each carried by two men, which were presented by Sir John de Matringuehem, captain of the said fortress, to the King of England, who had two gentlemen of his household whom he gave to the said Sir John in repayment, and he was to pay two hackneys as their ransom. And the said captain of Bouves conducted himself in such wise towards the King of England that afterwards it was worth more to him.

On turning out from Bouves the English, riding on in the usual manner, and always keeping along the river, went into night-quarters at a large village named Cays, near Nelle, in Vermendois, and next day on leaving that the king passed before Nelle, where the people of the town had covered their walls with hangings, which were for the most part scarlet. And about a league and a half beyond Nelle the English of the vanguard found the river rather small. The bridge indeed was broken, but the arches were pretty near each other, so the King of England and the whole force drew up to this spot with the view of crossing over the river. At Abbeville there were, as the Gascon esquire had said, Sir Charles de Labrech, constable of France, Marshal Boucicault, the Count of Vendôme, grand master of the king's household, the Lord of Dompierre, styling himself Admiral of France, the Duke of Alençon, and the Count of Richemont, and with them notable chivalry, who, hearing daily tidings of the way the English were pursuing, went to Corbye, and thence to Peronne, keeping their men always pretty near them on the road, and endeavouring to secure all the crossings of the Somme water against the English. The King of England then came down from the fields to the river,

for the people of St. Quentin, who had been charged to demolish all the crossings, had not in this acquitted themselves well, and had never believed that the English would advance so far on this side. A.D. 1415.

Then the English began to demolish houses, to take rafters, benches, staircases, doors, windows, and everything that could serve them to make a bridge upon the said arches; and they ceased not to labour at the said passage from eight o'clock in the morning till daylight failed. Very early next day they began to cross in the following manner:—First, there crossed two hundred archers on foot, and then five or six hundred gentlemen, with an ensign; and when they had crossed in sufficient numbers, a standard crossed; afterwards there was given them an emblazoned pennon, and then a banner; and when the vanguard had all crossed on foot their horses were taken over, and in the same manner the main body and the rear guard crossed, and the daylight failed when they had all got over, and they had no disturbance, for none of the French appeared to annoy them. It was the day after St. Luke's that the King of England and his whole army crossed the river Somme, and quite dark as it was they marched forward; and the king went to lodge at Moncy-la-Gace, on the river Miramont. And the lords of France above named remained at Bapaume, and their men in the neighbourhood, a great force. When they learned that the English had crossed the river they were greatly displeased with the people of St. Quentin, to whom, as has been said, it had been commanded on behalf of the King of France that they should demolish the passage by which the English had crossed.

Then the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the constable, and the other great lords of France who were there, sent three military officers to the King of England, to let him know that the said dukes and

A.D. 1415. constables were ready to meet his wish, which was, to battle with the French; and that for this purpose these three princes of the house of the King of France announced to him that they were ready to fulfil his desire, and that which he sought, and if he would accept a day and place to fight they were agreeable, the place to be chosen by some appointed delegates, and not more advantageous for one than the other, provided that this was the good pleasure of the King of France, their sovereign lord. Such was in substance what the letters contained.

These three French officers the King of England received very courteously, and gave them rich and handsome gifts at parting; but concerning the answer touching their said letters, he sent word to the three French princes that since his departure from his town of Harfleur he had sought, and sought daily, to get back to his kingdom of England, and had not lain in any walled town or fortress; wherefore if they or others wished to fight with him there was no necessity to fix day or place, for any day they could find him in the open fields without any inclosure or advantage. To this answer of the king the heralds made no reply, but thanking him for his gifts they took leave of him gracefully, and returned to their masters, to whom they made this report, and who therefore sent immediately to the King of France to announce these tidings, and how the English had crossed over the river Somme.

When the King of England was apprised how the French were preparing in every direction to fight him, he rode clothed in armour, and made all the lords he had with him do the same; likewise he ordered that each archer in front should be furnished with a stake sharpened at both ends, and thus he rode from day to day till the day of battle.

How the French determined to fight the King of England, and how the King of France sent to the Count of Charolois, only son of Duke John of Burgundy, that he might be at the battle. A D. 1415.

CHAPTER VIII.

THUS, as you have heard, the King of England and his battalions crossed the water of Somme, during which time the King of France and his son, the Duke of Guienne, came to Rouen, at which place, on the twenty-fifth day of October, a council was held to know what was to be done touching the present expedition of the King of England. At this council were present [1] the Dukes of Guienne, Berry, and Brittany, the Count of Ponthieu, youngest son of the king, the chancellors of France and Aquitaine, and several other notable counsellors to the number of thirty-five. After many things had been proposed and debated in the presence of the king,[2] thirty of the above number finally concluded that the King of England and his force should be fought; the other five, for many reasons which they explained, advised that, according to the best of their opinion, they should not fight on a stated day; but finally the opinion of the great majority was adopted, and immediately the King of France expressly commanded his constable and the other princes and lords with him, by letters signed with his hand, that they should quickly gather together, with the greatest force that they could obtain, and fight as they could the King of England and his men.

This being done, it was proclaimed throughout the kingdom of France that all noble men accustomed to

[1] King Louis of Sicily, H.

[2] And of his Highness the Dauphin his son, H.

A.D. 1415. carry arms should repair with all diligence day and night to acquire honour with the constable wherever he might be. Even the Duke of Guienne had a great desire to go, though he had been forbidden by his father, the King of France; however, by the influence of King Louis and the Duke of Berry he was persuaded not to go. Then all the lords and warlike people hastened to join the constable, who had already gone down to the country of Artois, and who, having the express command of his lord the king, sent hastily the lord of Mongauchier to the Count of Charolois, only son of duke John of Burgundy, to inform him of the determination that had been taken to fight the English, requesting him affectionately, on behalf of the King of France, that he would be at the battle. The lord of Mongauchier found the count at Arras, where he was received with honour by him and all those of his council; and after he had explained the occasion of his coming to the count, the council being present, it was answered by the lords of Roubaix and Viesville, who were then his principal governors, that they would use their utmost diligence concerning his request, and so the said the lord of Mongauchier departed. However, though the said Count of Charolois wished with all his heart to fight in person with the English, and also the said governors gave him to understand that he should be there, yet they were strictly enjoined by Duke John, his father, in terms they could not mistake, that they should prevent him from going. For which reason, and in order to have him out of the way, they took him to Aire, to which place the constable anew sent some lords, and Mountjoy, king-at-arms, to make requests to the count similar to those which the lord of Mongauchier had made; but, briefly to tell, the thing was always broken off by the said governors, and they even found means of keeping him within the castle of the town of Aire, as secretly and securely as they

could, in order that he should not know the day of battle. Meanwhile most of the people of his household, who knew the business was coming on, set out secretly without his knowledge, and went with the French to be at the fight with the English ; and there remained with the said count only the young lord of Anthoing and his governors above named, who at last, in order to satisfy him, informed him of the prohibition of the duke his father against his going to this affair, which he took not in good part; and, as I was afterwards informed, he withdrew at these words to his private chamber weeping. A.D. 1415.

How the King of England conducted himself after crossing the river Somme, and how he came to lodge at Maisoncelles, near Azincourt. CHAPTER IX.

Now it becomes us to return to the King of England from the day that he came to lodge at Moncy-la-Gace, where he was made certain that he would be fought. Thence he took his way straight to Encre, and went to lodge at a village called Forteville, and his people lodged at Cennes and the neighbourhood, always in the same order that you have heard above, clothed in armour; and the next day, which was Wednesday, he rode almost to Luceu, and went to lodge at Bonnières-l'Eschaillon, and the Duke of York, his uncle, leading the vanguard, lodged at Fervent, on the river Canche. And the English lodged this night in at least seven or eight villages, without meeting any hindrance; for the French, in order to be in front of them, had drawn towards Saint Pol and the river Anvin. To tell the truth, the King of England expected to lodge in another

A.D. 1415. village, which his harbingers had retained for him, but he who is more tenacious of the ceremonies of honour, ought to be highly commended therefor. Now, in order that people may have some understanding of these facts, we shall speak a little about them here. It is true that whensoever during this expedition he wished to send couriers to towns or castles, or about any of his affairs, he made the lords and gentlemen who went divest themselves of their coats of mail, and resume them on their return. So it happened on the day that the King of England left Bonnières to go towards Blangy, near which was a village which had been appointed for his lodging by his harbingers, he nevertheless, not being warned, or conducted to the said village, passed beyond it about half a league, and rode forward. Then he was told that he had passed his lodging place, but he replied, "God forbid I should "return, since I have on my coat of mail." So he went on still further to the neighbourhood of Blangy, where he lodged, and made his people sleep around him. Next day the King of England, having left his night quarters, rode on in the usual manner, always taking the direct way towards Calais; and it was the twenty-fourth day of October, the eve of St. Crispin; but he had scarcely turned out when his scouts reported that they had seen the French in large bodies guarding his road, and they were informed that they were to lodge at Rousseauville and Azincourt in order to fight him on the morrow, to which the king replied that it was well.

King Henry, then being apprised of this, and because the passage of the river at Blangy, in Ternois, was long and narrow, before crossing it, made six noblemen of his vanguard divest themselves of their coats of mail and cross first to see whether the passage had no guard. They found it had none, and that there was no opposition; so the whole English army crossed with great

expedition. When they had got over, and regained A.D. 1415.
the road, they had gone but a little way when they perceived before them the French in great force; wherefore King Henry made all his men dismount, and put them in good order of battle, expecting to be fought on this day. And all the English were engaged in devotional exercises, praying our Lord God that he would be their help; and there they remained till sunset. Similarly the French, who could well discern the battle array of the English, expecting to fight them, put themselves in good order, put on their coats of mail, displayed banners and pennons, and made several new knights. Among those who received the order of knighthood was Philip Count of Nevers, by Marshal Boucicault, with a great number of other noble esquires; and there near Azincourt gathered all the French in a single body.

When the King of England saw that it was already late, he made all his army draw towards Maisoncelles, which was near; but before he lay down he gave liberty to the prisoners, nobles, and others, who were at that time with his army, they promising him that if the victory turned on his side they would all return to him and to their masters if they were living, but if it fell to him to lose the battle, he for ever freed them from fealty and ransom. After the prisoners were thus liberated, the King of England lodged in the said town of Maisoncelles, so near his enemies that the foremost of his vanguard saw them quite plainly, and heard them call each other by name, and make a great noise; but as for the English, never did people make less noise, for hardly did one hear them utter a word, or speak together.

When the French saw that the King of England had lodged himself at Maisoncelles, and that they would not be fought that day, it was commanded on behalf of the King of France and his constable

A.D. 1415. that each one should sleep in the place where he was. Then you might have seen banners and pennons furled round the lances, and coats of mail put off, mules and trunks unpacked, and each of the lords sending their servants and harbingers into the neighbouring villages to seek for straw or litter to put under them, that they might sleep in the same place where they were, which was much beaten down by the trampling of the horses. And almost all the night it ceased not to rain, and there continued a great noise of pages, grooms, and all kinds of people; such that, as it is said, the English could hear them plainly, but those on their side were not heard; for during this night all that could find a priest confessed themselves; the men-at-arms tightened their armour, sharpening their aguilettes, and doing whatever was their business; the archers looked to their bows and cords, and whatever was necessary for them. Then when it came to be early morning, the King of England began to hear his masses; for it was his custom to hear three every day, one after the other; and he had on every piece of his armour, except his head gear; but after the masses were said he had brought to him his helmet, which was very rich, and had a handsome crown of gold around it like an imperial crown; then when he was fully equipped, he mounted a small grey horse, without spurs, and without causing any trumpet or other instrument to sound, he quietly drew his battalion from its night quarters, and there on a fine field of young corn arranged his troops; and, to guard his baggage and that of his men, he appointed a gentleman with ten lances, and twenty archers, besides pages, who were of noble birth, and some sick, who could be no help. He formed all his men into a single body, as closely massed as he could, his men-at-arms in the middle, and all his banners pretty near each other. At each side of the men-at-arms were the archers; and there might be in all about ten

thousand good fighting men; and to speak of the banners of the King of England there were five about his own person, that is to say, the banner of the Trinity, the banner of Our Lady, the banner of St. George, the banner of St. Edward, and the banner of his own arms. Afterwards were the following banners, viz., of the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York, the Earl of March, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Kent, the Lords de Ros, Cornwall, and several others. A.D. 1415

These things being arranged, the king went along the ranks to see if nothing was wanting to the work of his army; and, in passing, he made fine speeches everywhere, exhorting and begging them to do well; saying that he had come into France to recover his rightful heritage, and that he had good and just cause for so doing; saying further that they could fight safely and with free heart in this quarrel, and that they should remember that they were born of the realm of England where they had been brought up, and where their fathers, mothers, wives, and children were living; wherefore it became them to exert themselves, that they might return thither with great joy and approval. And he showed them besides how his predecessors, kings of England, had gained many splendid victories over the French, and caused them marvellous discomfiture; and he begged that this day each one would assist in protecting his person and the crown of England, with the honour of the kingdom. And further he told them and explained how the French were boasting that they would cut off three fingers of the right hand of all the archers that should be taken prisoners to the end that neither man nor horse should ever again be killed with their arrows. Such exhortations and many others, which cannot all be written, the King of England addressed to his men.

How the Constable of France and the French princes arranged their troops on the Friday morning.
CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1415. Now[1] we shall tell of the condition of the French, who, as it has been said, lay down on the Thursday evening on the field between Azincourt and Tramecourt, in which place on the morning of next day they made their preparations and arrangements for fighting the King of England and his force that day; for, on the Thursday, they had chosen that spot where they bivouacked in order to fight the English there, if they tried to pass it, as this was their direct way to go to Calais. And to the royal banner of the constable all the great lords of the gathering gladly joined their own; namely, marshals, admirals, and other royal officers; and this night the French made great fires round the banner under which they were to fight. And the French were at least fifty thousand, with a

[1] *Now we will begin to speak of the French, who on Thursday at night, as has been mentioned above, lay in the field which is between Azincourt and Tramecourt, where the battle was on the morrow, in which place, as I have already begun to relate, they remained till morning, hoping never to leave the place till they should have fought the King of England and his force. And they set and ordered themselves in readiness, but truth to tell, on the Thursday at evening when they had reconnoitred the place where they had halted and where the battle was on the morrow, the French princes and the royal officers who were there, such as the Constable, Marshal Boucicault, the Lord of Dompierre, and Sir Clugnet de Brabant, both calling themselves Admirals of France, the Lord of Rambures, Master of the Crossbowmen, and many other princes, barons, and knights fixed their banners with great rejoicing with the royal banner of the said Constable on the said field reconnoitred by them, situate in the county of St. Pol in the territory of Azincourt, across which on the morrow the English were to pass to Calais. And that night the French made great fires around the banner beneath which they were to fight on the morrow,* H.

great number of waggons, baggage, artillery, and all appurtenances suitable to the case. They had few musical instruments, and during this night one hardly heard a single horse neigh throughout the host. A.D. 1415.

I,[1] the author of this work, know the truth about this, for I was in this assemblage on the French side; and on behalf of the English, Golden Fleece, above mentioned, has certified the same thing, whence an evil augury was drawn in the army of the French, and some foretold that which came of it.

Then on the morning of the next day, that is to say, Friday, St. Crispin's day, the twenty-fifth of October, 1415, the constable and all the other officers of the King of France, the Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Bar, and Alençon, the Counts of Eu, Richemont, Vendôme, Marle, Vaudemont, Blaumont, Salines, Grampré, Roussy, Dampmartin, and generally all the other nobles and warriors armed themselves and issued from their bivouac; and then it was ordered by the constable and marshals of the King of France that three battalions should be formed, that is to say, vanguard main body, and rear guard. In the vanguard were placed eight thousand knights and esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred cross-bowmen; which vanguard was commanded by the constable, accompanied by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with whom were the Counts of Eu and Richemont, Marshal Boucicault, the master of the cross-bowmen, the Lord of Dompierre, Admiral of France, Sir Guichart Daulphin, and some other captains; and moreover the Count of Vendôme and other officers of the king, with six hundred men-at-arms, were ar-

[1] *And I truly know all this, for I the author of this work was present on the French side, and on the part of the English the said Golden Fleece has told me the same thing for truth, whereat many wondered greatly, and some of the French drew no good augury from it, saying within themselves as next day befel.* H.

A.D 1415. ranged as a wing to strike on the English on one side, and another wing was commanded by Sir Clugnet de Brabant, admiral, and Sir Louis Bourdon, with eight hundred mounted men-at-arms, picked men, with whom there were, to intercept the arrows of the English, Sir Guillame de Saveuse, Hector and Philip, his brothers, Ferry de Mailly, Alyame de Gapaume, Allain de Vendôme, Lamont de Lannoy, and several other valiant knights and esquires. The centre division, which had a number of men equal to the vanguard, was led by the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, the Counts of Nevers, Vaudemont, Blaumont, Salines, Roussy, and Grampré. And the rear guard, in which was the residue of the French host, was led by the Counts of Marle, Dampmartin, and Fauqembergue, and the Lord of Longroy, Captain of Ardre, who had brought the men from the frontier of Boullenois.

When the battalions of the French were thus formed, as has been told, it was grand to see them; and as far as one could judge by the eye, they were in number fully six times as many as the English. And when this was done the French sat down by companies around their banners, waiting the approach of the English, and making their peace with one another; and then were laid aside many old aversions conceived long ago; some kissed and embraced each other, which it was affecting to witness; so that all quarrels and discords which they had had in time past were changed to great and perfect love. And there were some who breakfasted on what they had. And these Frenchmen remained thus till nine or ten o'clock in the morning, feeling quite assured that, considering their great force, the English could not escape them; however, there were at least some of the wisest who greatly feared a fight with them in open battle. Among the arrangements made on the part of the French, as I have since heard related by

eminent knights, it happened that, under the banner of A.D. 1415.
the Lord of Croy, eighteen gentlemen banded themselves together of their own choice, and swore that when the two parties should come to meet they would strive with all their might to get so near the King of England that they would beat down the crown from his head, or they would die, as they did; but before this they got so near the said king that one of them with the lance which he held struck him such a blow on his helmet that he knocked off one of the ornaments of his crown. But not long afterwards it only remained that the eighteen gentlemen were all dead and cut to pieces; which was a great pity; for if every one of the French had been willing thus to exert himself, it is to be believed that their affairs would have gone better on this day. And the leaders of these gentlemen were Louvelet de Massinguehem and Garnot de Bornouille. Now we will return to speak of the King of England, how he conducted himself after he had admonished his men, as has been told.

How the King of England began to march forward, and of the parley that was held between the two armies before they met. CHAPTER XI.

WHEN the English had heard their king speak thus, their courage and hardihood increased, for well they saw it was the hour for every one to put his hand to the work if he did not wish to perish there. Some on the side of the French have said that the King of England sent two hundred archers secretly from the rear of his army, so that they should not be perceived, towards Tramecourt through a meadow to

A.D. 1415. the place of the French vanguard, in order that on the march of the said French these two hundred English might shoot at them on that side; but I have heard it asserted for truth by a man of honour who was at that hour in the English army that there was nothing of this. Then, as has been above alluded to, the English having heard their king thus kindly exhorting them, uttered a loud cry, saying "Sire, God "grant you long life, and victory over your enemies!" This done, the king, again upon his little horse, came and placed himself before his banner, and made his battalion march in the name of God and St. George approaching the enemy in fine order. But presently he made a halt; and from the place where he stopped he sent persons in whom he had great confidence to communicate with some French lords in the midst between the two armies: I know not through what incident; but, however, there were overtures and offers made by the two parties in the way of coming to a peace between the two kings and kingdoms of [France and] England. And by the French Henry was offered that if he would renounce the title which he asserted to the crown of France and entirely quit it and leave it, and, moreover, would restore the town of Harfleur, which he had lately conquered, the King of France would be satisfied to leave him peaceably what he held in Guienne, and that which he had by ancient conquest in Picardy. But the English answered that if the King of France would allow King Henry to enjoy the duchy of Guienne, and five cities of the county of Poiton, which were then named, and which pertained of right to the said duchy of Guienne, and would give him the lady Catherine, his daughter, to wife, with five hundred thousand francs, ready cash, for her apparel and jewellery, the King of England would be content to renounce his title to the crown of France, and restore the town of Harfleur. Which

offers and demands were rejected equally by both sides, so the mediators returned, the French as well as the English, each to their own side. A.D. 1415.

Now it is true that some on this side have given it out that the King of England offered the French that if they would allow him and his army to pass peaceably to Calais, and courteously let victuals be supplied them for reasonable payment he would restore the town of Harfleur with the spoil and benefits which he had acquired by means of the said conquest and expedition. But though it may displease those who have averred it, this thing is an invention, for never did the King of England bind himself beyond the demand above mentioned. Thus quickly the parley being broken off, without any further hope whatever of peace or concord, each of the two parties prepared to fight. And every English archer had a stake pointed at both ends, with which they made a fence before them and fortified themselves.

Of the mortal battle of Azincourt, in which the King of England discomfited the French. CHAPTER XII.

IT is true that the French had arranged their battalions between two small thickets, one lying close to Azincourt, and the other to Tramecourt. The place was narrow, and very advantageous for the English, and, on the contrary, very ruinous for the French, for the said French had been all night on horseback, and it rained, and the pages, grooms, and others, in leading about the horses, had broken up the ground, which was so soft that the horses could with difficulty step out of the soil. And also the said French were so

A.D. 1415. loaded with armour that they could not support themselves or move forward. In the first place they were armed with long coats of steel, reaching to the knees or lower, and very heavy, over the leg harness, and besides plate armour also most of them had hooded helmets; wherefore this weight of armour, with the softness of the wet ground, as has been said, kept them as if immovable, so that they could raise their clubs only with great difficulty, and with all these mischiefs there was this, that most of them were troubled with hunger and want of sleep. There was a marvellous number of banners, and it was ordered that some of them should be furled. Also it was settled among the said French that every one should shorten his lance, in order that they might be stiffer when it came to fighting at close quarters. They had archers and cross-bowmen enough, but they would not let them shoot, for the plain was so narrow that there was no room except for the men-at-arms.

Now let us return to the English. After the parley between the two armies was finished, as we have said, and the delegates had returned, each to their own people, the King of England, who had appointed a knight called Sir Thomas Erpingham to place his archers in front in two wings, trusted entirely to him, and Sir Thomas, to do his part, exhorted every one to do well in the name of the king, begging them to fight vigorously against the French in order to secure and save their own lives. And thus the knight, who rode with two others only in front of the battalion, seeing that the hour was come, for all things were well arranged, threw up a baton which he held in his hand, saying "Nestrocq,"[1] which was the signal

[1] *Nestrocq*, A. *Nestrongue*, H. *Ne strecke* in Monstrelet. Buchon (Monst., p. 375) conjectures that the word was intended to represent the English, "Now strike."

for attack; then dismounted and joined the king, who was also on foot in the midst of his men, with his banner before him. Then the English, seeing this signal, began suddenly to march, uttering a very loud cry, which greatly surprised the French. And when the English saw that the French did not approach them, they marched dashingly towards them in very fine order, and again raised a loud cry as they stopped to take breath. A.D. 1415.

Then the English archers, who, as I have said, were in the wings, saw that they were near enough, and began to send their arrows on the French with great vigour. The said archers were for the most part in their doublets, without armour, their stockings rolled up to their knees, and having hatchets and battle-axes or great swords hanging at their girdles; some were bare-footed and bare-headed, others had caps of boiled leather, and others of osier, covered with harpoy or leather.

Then the French, seeing the English come towards them in this fashion, placed themselves in order, every one under his banner, their helmets on their heads. The constable, the marshal, the admirals, and the other princes earnestly exhorted their men to fight the English well and bravely; and when it came to the approach the trumpets and clarions resounded everywhere; but the French began to hold down their heads, especially those who had no bucklers, for the impetuosity of the English arrows, which fell so heavily that no one durst uncover or look up. Thus they went forward a little, then made a little retreat, but before they could come to close quarters, many of the French were disabled and wounded by the arrows; and when they came quite up to the English, they were, as has been said, so closely pressed one against another that none of them could lift their arms to strike their enemies, except some that were in front, and these fiercely pricked with the lances which they had shortened to be more stiff, and to get nearer their enemies.

A.D. 1415. The said French had formed a plan which I will describe, that is to say, the constable and marshal had chosen ten or twelve hundred men-at-arms, of whom one party was to go by the Azincourt side and the other on that of Tramecourt, to break the two wings of the English archers; but when it came to close quarters there were but six score left of the band of Sir Clugnet de Brabant, who had the charge of the undertaking on the Tramecourt side. Sir William de Saveuse, a very brave knight, took the Azincourt side, with about three hundred lances; and with two others only he advanced before the rest, who all followed, and struck into these English archers, who had their stakes fixed in front of them, but these had little hold in such soft ground. So the said Sir William and his two companions pressed on boldly; but their horses tumbled among the stakes, and they were speedily slain by the archers, which was a great pity. And most of the rest, through fear, gave way and fell back into their vanguard, to whom they were a great hindrance; and they opened their ranks in several places, and made them fall back and lose their footing in some land newly sown; for their horses had been so wounded by the arrows that the men could no longer manage them. Thus, by these principally and by this adventure, the vanguard of the French was thrown into disorder, and men-at-arms without number began to fall; and their horses feeling the arrows coming upon them took to flight before the enemy, and following their example many of the French turned and fled. Soon afterwards the English archers, seeing the vanguard thus shaken, issued from behind their stockade, threw away their bows and quivers, then took their swords, hatchets, mallets, axes, falcon-beaks and other weapons, and, pushing into the places where they saw these breaches, struck down and killed these Frenchmen without mercy, and never ceased to kill till the said vanguard which had fought little or not at all was

completely overwhelmed, and these went on striking A.D. 1415.
right and left till they came upon the second battalion, which was behind the advance guard, and there the king personally threw himself into the fight with his men-at-arms. And there came suddenly Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had been summoned by the King of France, and had so hastened for fear of being late, that his people could not follow him, for he would not wait for them, but took a banner from his trumpeters, made a hole in the middle of it, and dressed himself as if in armour; but he was soon killed by the English. Then was renewed the struggle and great slaughter of the French, who offered little defence; for, because of their cavalry above mentioned, their order of battle was broken; and then the English got among them more and more, breaking up the two first battalions in many places, beating down and slaying cruelly and without mercy; but some rose again by the help of their grooms, who led them out to the mêlée; for the English, who were intent on killing and making prisoners, pursued nobody. And then all the rear guard, being still on horseback, and seeing the condition of the first two battalions turned and fled, except some of the chiefs and leaders of these routed ones. And it is to be told that while the battalion was in rout, the English had taken some good French prisoners.

And there came tidings to the King of England that the French were attacking his people at the rear, and that they had already taken his sumpters and other baggage, which enterprise was conducted by an esquire named Robert de Bornouille, with whom were Rifflart de Plamasse, Yzembart d'Azincourt, and some other men-at-arms, accompanied by about six hundred peasants, who carried off the said baggage and many horses of the English while their keepers were occupied in the fight, about which robbery the King was greatly troubled, nevertheless he ceased not to pursue his

A.D. 1415. victory, and his people took many good prisoners, by whom they expected all to become rich, and they took from them nothing but their head armour.

At the hour when the English feared the least there befel them a perilous adventure, for a great gathering of the rear guard and centre division of the French, in which were many Bretons, Gascons, and Poitevins, rallied with some standards and ensigns, and returned in good order, and marched vigorously against the conquerors of the field. When the King of England perceived them coming thus he caused it to be published that every one that had a prisoner should immediately kill him, which those who had any were unwilling to do, for they expected to get great ransoms for them. But when the king was informed of this he appointed a gentleman with two hundred archers whom he commanded to go through the host and kill all the prisoners, whoever they might be. This esquire, without delay or objection, fulfilled the command of his sovereign lord, which was a most pitiable thing, for in cold blood all the nobility of France was beheaded and inhumanly cut to pieces, and all through this accursed company, a sorry set compared with the noble captive chivalry, who when they saw that the English were ready to receive them, all immediately turned and fled, each to save his own life. Many of the cavalry escaped ; but of those on foot there were many among the dead.

When the King of England saw that he was master of the field and had got the better of his enemies he humbly thanked the Giver of victory, and he had good cause, for of his people there died on the spot only about sixteen hundred men of all ranks, among whom was the Duke of York, his great uncle, about whom he was very sorry.[1] Then the king collected on that

[1] And in truth the day before they met in battle there had been made on the French side 500 new knights or more. The King of England

place some of those most intimate with him, and A.D. 1415.
inquired the name of a castle which he perceived to be the nearest; and they said, "Azincourt." "It is right, then," said he, "that this our victory should "for ever bear the name of Azincourt, for every battle "ought to be named after the fortress nearest to the "place where it was fought."

When the King of England and his army had been there a good while, waiting on the field, and guarding the honour of the victory more than four hours, and no one whatever, French or other, appeared to do them injury, seeing that it rained and evening was drawing on, he returned to his quarters at Maisoncelles. And the English archers busied themselves in turning over the dead, under whom they found some good prisoners still alive, of whom the Duke of Orleans was one; and they carried the armour of the dead by horse loads to their quarters. And they found on the field the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford, whom they carried into their camp; and the French did little injury to the said English, except in the matter of these two.

When evening came the King of England, being informed that there was so much baggage accumulated at the lodging places, caused it to be proclaimed everywhere with sound of trumpet that no one should load himself with more armour than was necessary for his own body, because they were not yet wholly out of danger from the King of France. And this night the corpses of the two English princes, that is to say, the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford, were boiled, in order to separate the bones and carry them to England;

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then seeing himself remain victorious on the field as has been said, and that all the French except the slain, captured, or grievously wounded had departed, flying toward different places, called to him some of his princes on the field where the battle had been, and when he had well surveyed the place he inquired, &c., H.

A.D. 1415. and this being done, the king further ordered that all the armour that was over and above what his people were wearing, with all the dead bodies on their side, should be carried into a barn or house, and there burnt altogether; and it was done according to the king's command.

Next day, which was Saturday, the King of England and his whole army turned out from Maisoncelles, and passed through the scene of slaughter, where they killed all the French that they found still living, except some that they took prisoners; and King Henry stood there, looking[1] on the pitiable condition of those dead bodies, which were quite naked, for during the night they had been stripped as well by the English as by the peasantry.

When the king had been there for some time he passed on on the direct road to Calais. And it came to pass that at another halt which he made in the way without dismounting, he caused some bread and wine to be brought, and sent it to the Duke of Orleans, who would neither eat nor drink; which thing being reported to the king, he thinking it was through displeasure that he refused to eat and drink, he went to him himself, saying, "Fair cousin, how fare you?" And the Duke of Orleans replied, "Well, Sire." And the king asked, "Whence comes it then that you will "neither eat nor drink?" To which he answered that the truth was he was keeping a fast. Then the king said to him, "Fair cousin be of good cheer. I "acknowledge that God has given me victory over "the French, not because I am worthy of it, but I "believe that God has willed to punish them; and

[1] On the dead, and it was a pitiable thing to see the great body of nobles who were there slain for wishing loyally to serve their sovereign lord the King of France, who were all naked as they left their mother's womb, H.

" if what is said is true, it is no wonder, for they A.D. 1415.
" say that there never prevailed in any kingdom
" greater misrule and extravagance of sin and vice
" than overruns France at present, such that it is
" sad to relate and horrible to hear; and if God is
" angry at it, one ought not greatly to marvel or
" be astonished." The King of England and the Duke of Orleans had then much conversation together; then the English rode on in fine order as they were used to before the battle, except that they wore no coats of mail, and the King of England so made his way that he arrived at his castle at Guines, where he was received with great honour and reverence by the captain of the place; and know that he always had the French prisoners led between the vanguard and the main body.

The king, as has been said, having come to Guines, lodged within the castle, and his battalion in the town; but the great mass of the men-at-arms and archers proceeded to Calais, very tired, and cumbered with booty and prisoners; the king, however, detained with himself the captive dukes, counts, and great barons of France. When these English men-at-arms, thus worn out and weary, arrived before Calais, where they expected to refresh themselves, they were refused admission, which was a great hardship for them, for there were those among them who had not tasted bread for eight days, whatever other provisions they might have found in any way. So you may think that the prisoners, of whom the greater number were wounded, had much to suffer, for every one had hoped to get relief at Calais, which they failed to do, for none were allowed to enter, except some great lords. The governors of the town did this in order that at any risk those who were on the frontier should not remain there stripped of provisions. And in consequence of this, the men-at-arms and the archers who were as it were famished and

A.D. 1415. cumbered and hampered with baggage and prisoners remained outside, at which they were very discontented; so that many of them to relieve themselves sold their goods and prisoners to the people of the town in order to have ready money and to cross the water, for they cared little if they could only get to England. And there were plenty of them that put their prisoners to a nominal ransom, and released them conditionally on their word, and that day men gave through the said scarcity what was worth ten nobles for four, and made no account of what bread cost if only they could have some to eat.

King Henry, who, as you have heard, was at Guines, was informed of the great hardships and want of his men who were round the town of Calais, so he provided for it without delay; for with all diligence he sent to provide boats in which his men-at-arms crossed over with their baggage and prisoners, those who had any, some to Dover, and the rest to Sandwich; and they were very joyful when they found themselves on the other side of the sea, so that each could go to his home to feast and relate the details of their victories.

How King Henry came to Calais, and thence crossed over to England where he was received with great gladness. CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER the King of the English had sojourned some days at his castle of Guines, he departed thence and went to Calais; and in his progress he conversed with the French princes whom he had as prisoners, and consoled them very amiably, like a gracious personage; and when the king with all his noble company arrived there, he was respectfully received by all and entertained; and the clergy even came in procession to meet him out side the town, saying altogether, "Te

Deum laudamus," for joy at his victory; and all were rejoiced to see him, and said, "Welcome to the king, our sovereign lord!" and the little children cried, "Noel!" Thus joyfully, as you hear, King Henry entered his town of Calais, where he sojourned a while, and kept the feast of All Saints with great profusion, then made ready his fleet to cross into England. And when all was ready he went on board his vessel on St. Martin's day, the eleventh of November, with his whole brigade. But before his departure from Calais there came to him all the prisoners [1] from Harfleur as they had promised him. A.D. 1415.

Soon after the vessels got away from land, the sea became boisterous, and a high wind rose, which so dispersed the fleet that two of the Lord of Cornwall's ships perished with all that were in them; likewise some vessels that were full of prisoners were driven to the port of Cerixe, in Holland; but the king arrived safely at Dover, where he landed.

King Henry was greatly praised and thanked by the clergy and people of his realm, for the splendid victory of Azincourt and the conquest of Harfleur, as was quite right; and to meet him came the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him the abbot and all the monks in procession; and he alighted at the portal of St. Thomas's church, where he said his prayers, kissed the relics, and made his offering. Then he went to lodge at the neighbouring abbey of St. Augustine, outside the walls of the town.

When the king had sojourned there two days, he took the road to London, and when he came near the city he found the rectors of all the churches and parishes coming to meet him with crosses and gonfalons, carrying likewise the Host and reliquaries,

[1] This is the reading of H. The text in A. is corrupt (*see* page 189).

A.D. 1415. and singing melodiously, "Te Deum laudamus;" and afterwards came the mayor of London and the burgesses in great splendour. When he entered into the city he found the streets draped and decorated; the windows and balconies filled with dames and young ladies, wives and daughters of burgesses, who all cried with loud voice, "Welcome to our sovereign lord, the "King of England." And thus all the way to the church of St. Paul they never ceased to welcome and praise him for the honour of the splendid victories which God had sent him. The king entered St. Paul's church, where he paid his devotions and offerings, and this done, he got into a barge on the Thames, and went down to his palace at Westminster, which he found richly decorated and carpeted, as well befitted his own person, and also to do honour to the princes of France, his prisoners.

Thus, as you have heard, King Henry of England came to his kingdom in great triumph, and was highly honoured and congratulated, as was very right. So we shall leave speaking of him for a little, and shall tell of those who died at the battle of Azincourt, and also of the captive lords.

Here it makes mention of the dukes, counts, barons, knights, and nobles who died at the battle of Azincourt; and of those who were made prisoners there. CHAPTER XIV.

HEREAFTER follow some of the names of the noble men who fell in the battle of Azincourt on the French side: First there died in the said battle, of the officers of the King of France, the constable, Sir Charles de Labrech, and Marshal Boucicault was carried

as a prisoner to England, where he died; Sir Jacques de Châtillon, Lord of Dompièrre, Admiral of France; the Lord of Rambures, master of the cross-bowmen; and Sir Guichard Daulphin, master of the king's household. A.D. 1415.

Of princes: Duke Anthony of Brabant, brother of John, Duke of Burgundy; Duke Edward of Bar; the Duke of Alençon; Count Philip of Nevers, brother of the said Duke of Burgundy; Sir Robert de Bar, Count of Marle; the Count of Vaudemon; John, brother of the said Duke of Bar, Lord of Granpré; the Count of Roussy, Sir Louis of Bourbon, son of the Lord of Praiaux.

Of barons and great lords, as well of Picardy as elsewhere: first the vidame of Amiens; the Lord of Croy and Sir John, his son; the Lord of Wavrin and his son; the Lord of Aussy; the Lord of Brimeu; the Lord of Poix; the standard-bearer, Lord of Crequy; the Lord of Longroy; Sir Wicard de Bours; Sir Philip d'Aussy and his son; the Lord of Rayneval and his brother; the Lord of Longueval and Sir Allain, his brother; the Lord of Mailly and his eldest brother; the Lord of Incy; Sir William de Saveuse; the Lord of Neufville and his son; the governor of Lens Castle; Sir John de Moroeil; Sir Roghues de Poix; Sir John de Bethune; the Lord of Clary; Sir John de Maroel-en-Brye; Sir Symon de Craon; the Lord of la Roche-Guyon, and his brother the vidame of Lannois; the Lord of Gallingny; the Lord of L'Alyegre in Auvergne; the Lord of Bauffremont in Champagne; Sir Jacques de Hem; the Lord of St. Bris, Philip de Fosseux; Sir Regnault de Crequy, and his son Sir Philip; the Lord of Maumez and his brother Lancelot; Matthew and John de Humieres, brothers; Sir Louis de Branchault; the Lord of Roncq; Sir Raoul de Manny; Sir Oudart de Renty and two of his brothers; the Lord of

A.D. 1415. Happlaincourt and his son Sir Jacques; Sir Louis de Guistelle; the Lord of Lyedequerque; Sir Jacques de Lescuyelle; the Lord of la Seine; the Lord of Hammes; the Lord of Houdestate; the Lord of Poucques; Sir John de Bailleul; Sir Raoul de Flandres; Sir Collard de Fosseux; the Lord of Rosimbos and his brother; the Lord of Thyennes; the Lord of Azincourt and his son Sir Hustin Quieret; le Besque de Tayeu and his brother Payen; the Lord of Wareignies; the Lord of Auffemont and his son Sir Raoulquin; Sir Raoul de Nelle; the Lord of St. Crespin; the Viscount of Quesnes; Sir Pierre de Beauvoir; the Lord of Vermendois; Sir John de Lugny, and his brother Sir Griffon; the Lord of St. Symon and his brother Gallois; Collard de la Porte, Lord of Bellincourt; Sir Yvain de Gramais; the Lord of Servy in Lannois; Sir Drieu d'Argines, Lord of Bethencourt; Sir Gobert de la Bonne; the Lord of Channensy; the Lord of Blanville; the Lord of Ivry, and his son Sir Charles; the Lord of Blanville and his son; Sir John Mateil; the Lord of le Cret; the Seneschal of Eu; the Lord of la Riviere de Thibauville; the Lord of Coursy; he of Courteneue; the Lord of Beaumaisnil; the Lord of Combomes; the Lord of La Heuse; the Lord of Saint Cler; the Lord of Moncheu; the Lord of Omfreville; Sir Enguerand de Fontaines, and his brother Sir Charles; Sir Amourry de Craon; the Lord of Crollay; the Lord of Mont St. Jan; the Lord of la Haye; the Lord of Lille Bouchard; Sir John de Craon, Lord of Mobason; the Lord of Buel Daimont sur Loire; the Lord of Craon le Dasse; the Lord of La Tour; the Lord of Lille-Gomort; Sir John de Dreuz; Sir Gauvain de Dreuz; the Viscount of Tramery; Sir Robert de Bonnan; Sir Robert de Challus; Sir John de Bonnebant; the Lord of Montgaquier; Sir John de Wallecourt; the Lord of Sainteron; Sir Ferry de

Sardonne; Sir Pierre d'Ast, Lord of Argies; Sir Henry, A.D. 1415.
Lord of Les Roches; Sir John de Montenay; the Lord of Combourt; the Viscount of La Belliere; Sir Bertran de Montaben; Bertran de Saint Gille; Sir John de Werchin, seneschal of Hainault; the Lord of Hamaide; the Lord of Quesnoy; the Lord of Montigny; the Lord of Quievrain; the Lord of Jeumont; the Lord of Chim; Sir Symon de Haurech; the Lord of Potes; Sir John de Gres; Sir Allemant de Chansnes; Sir Philip de Lens, and Sir Henry, brother to the Bishop of Cambray; Sir Michiel du Chasteler and his brother; the Lord of Torez, and Sir Briffaut, his brother; Sir Baudrain d'Asne; Sir Maillart d'Ozonville; the Lord of Bouzincourt; the Lord of Frescencourt; the Lord of Hetrus; the Lord of Moys in Beauvaisis, and his son; Sir Collard de Fiennes; Sir Collard de Sempy; the Lord of Le Bois d'Annequin; the Lord of Danmont; Sir Rasse de Moncaurel; Sir Lancelot de Clary; the Lord of La Raschie; Sir Grard de Herbaumez; Sir Grard de Rocourt; Sir Robert de Montigny; Sir Charles de Chastillon; Philip de Poitiers; the Lord of Faignoles; the Lord of Saint Pierre; Sir Regnault de Corbye; Sir Yvain de Beuval; Sir Brunel Fretel; Sir le Baudrain de Belloy; Sir Regnault d'Azincourt; Sir Pousses de Challus, Lord of Chastelneuf; the Lord of Marquettes, Sir Lancelot de Reubempre; the Lord of Voissai; Sir Hector de Chartres and his two brothers; the Lord of Beauvoir; the Lord of Cauroy and his brother; Sir Collard de Monbercant; Sir Charles de Bottry; Sir Guy Gourles and the Lord of Herlin; and the Lord of Regnauville; the Lord of Fyeves; the Lord of Toncques; Sir Maillet de Gournay and his brother; Sir Porru de Neelle; Sir Charnel de Hangart; the Lord of Honcourt in Cambresis; Sir Guisnart d'Ensne; the Lord of Rasse; Sir Collard de Rasse; the Lord of Espaigny;

A.D. 1415. the Lord of Chepoy; Sir Gerard de la Hauresse; Sir Louis de Vertain; Sir Hectorin d'Ongnies and his brother; Sir Henry de Bassy; Sir Artus de Mouy; Sir Le Borgne de Neelle; Sir Floridas de Mordal; Sir Tristran de Mouy, Lord of Verneulle; the Viscount of Dommart, and many others.

If I were to write down by name and surname all the barons, knights, esquires, and noble men that fell on this day, I should put down too many, but to come to an end, I have named only the most renowned and well-known; for so many noblemen and gentle esquires were killed that it was pitiable, as I the author of this work saw with my eyes. Besides, I have inquired of the officers-at-arms and others who were in the two armies, so that I have been well informed of the truth of all that was done then, as well on the English side as the French; likewise I was largely informed by Sir Hues de Lannoy and Gilbert, his brother, which Sir Hues was taken prisoner, but he escaped the same night.

The number of the slain was ten thousand; of whom it is hoped that about sixteen hundred were varlets. All the rest were men of noble birth, most of whose relatives and friends carried the bodies from the field and buried them as they thought good. Among them were found six score banners; and if they had waited till Saturday to fight, there would have been a much greater number on the French side; for people poured in from every quarter, as if going to a festival of tourney or village fete. [1]

Now since I have recounted to you those who perished on this fatal day, it is right that I should likewise tell you of those who were made prisoners, of whom there were at least sixteen hundred, all men of note: first, Charles, Duke of Orleans; the Duke of

[1] The word in the original is *ducasse*.

Bourbon; the Count of Eu; the Count of Vendôme; A.D. 1415
the Count of Richemont; Sir Jacques de Harcourt; Sir John de Craon, Lord of Dommart; the Lord of Fosseux; the Lord of Humieres; the Lord of Roye; the Lord of Channy; Sir Behort Quieret; the Lord of Ligne, in Hainault; the Lord of Noyelle, called the white knight, and Sir Bandoc, his son; the Lord of Inchi; Sir John de Waucourt; Sir Actis de Brimeu; Sir Jennet de Poix; Sir Gilbert de Lannoy; and many other great lords, knights, and esquires to the number above mentioned, all of whom I cannot name. And now I shall leave speaking of the day of Azincourt, and proceed further in my proposed subject.

Of the great grief that there was throughout the kingdom of France, especially at the king's court, for the loss at Azincourt; and how the King of the Romans came to France and crossed into England. CHAPTER XV.

As soon as the misfortune of the said field of Azincourt was known a number of horsemen set out, and made rapid way, each striving to bring the first tidings of it to King Charles of France, the Duke of Guienne his son, and the other great lords of the blood royal, then in the city of Rouen. With which piteous news all were greatly distressed and angry, not without cause, and so also were all the people of the realm, but for the present nothing further could be done in the matter.

Within a few days after receiving these tidings, the king repaired to Paris, at which place the King of the Romans, who then was called the King and Emperor Sigismund, came to see and comfort him; but of the entertainment and reception which was given

A.D. 1415. him I forbear to speak, in order to get sooner to the end of the work. The emperor then having been a while at the court of France, and having heard the complaints of the king and those of his blood, touching the great loss and destruction of the noble men of the kingdom of France, to his loss and damage, which had recently happened at the battle of Azincourt, won by King Henry of England and his force, condoled with them, and greatly pitied their misfortune. And he, as a noble and wise prince, desiring that there should be peace and union in Christendom, prepared to cross the sea, and went to the King of England with the intention of finding some effectual means of peace, after he had plainly informed him of the proposals which he had to make on the part of the King of France to this end. And he had distinguished company at his departure from Paris; for he was convoyed by the king himself and his son, the Duke of Guienne, about half a league out of the city; but the great princes went as far as St. Denis, where they took leave of him.

And about Christmas, in the year one thousand four hundred and sixteen, the said emperor went to Calais, where he was grandly received, for King Henry, being apprized of his coming, had commanded those of Calais to do thus. Then, when the ship was ready, on the second day he landed at Dover, and thence rode towards London. And when the king knew he was near, he went forth to him with a noble company of his brothers and other princes of his court, besides prelates and burgesses in great numbers. So there was great reverence, honour, and welcome shown to the said emperor by the king and princes on meeting him, as was fitting; and they convoyed him to his lodging.

Soon afterwards, there came to London Duke William, Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, very grandly attended, to speak in like manner

of peace between the two kings and kingdoms of England and France; but they could not negotiate for several days, till they met with all their counsellors that had followed, nor could they then find any method of peace or concord. Notwithstanding this, King Henry very grandly entertained the emperor Sigismund, Duke William his cousin, and the other ambassadors who had come to England in their company, in hope of effecting great good. So he invited them all together to a very sumptuous and well furnished supper, at which the emperor was seated at the middle of the table, at his right hand the Duke of Orleans, and beyond him Duke William, the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Eu, the Lord of Estouteville, and the Lord of Gaucourt; on the left hand of the emperor were seated the Duke of Berik,[1] a German, and three counts whom I cannot name. There was very richly served every dish that one could think of or wish for pampering the human body. And the King of England, who understood worldly honours as well as any prince living, came twice before the emperor's table, dressed in a splendid coat of cloth of gold, and round his neck a collar of fine gold set with precious stones; and he helped the emperor and invited him and the other princes to make good cheer. This supper lasted a long time, and when it was finished they all rose from the table and began conversation with one another, which lasted a good while; then they withdrew each to his lodging when he pleased. A.D. 1415

[1] *Berik*, A. *Bric*, H. Apparently Henry VIII. or IX. Duke of Brieg.

How the Emperor departed from England without having effected anything about the peace of France. CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1416. THUS, as you may have heard, the emperor and the other lords above named were entertained by the King of England in his palace of Westminster, near London, where they sojourned above a whole month, during which time they were invited to many sumptuous banquets by the great princes of the country, for they often conversed together and conferred on terms of agreement; but when they saw that they could not find any way of peace or good understanding between the two kings and kingdoms of France and England, they took leave of King Henry, his brothers, and the other princes, very dissatisfied. Then having received many handsome presents, the emperor departed with his people, who as long as they sojourned under the protection of the King of England were kept free of all expense everywhere. The emperor and his followers rode straight from London to Dover, at which place they took leave of the princes of the king's household who had convoyed them, and the ship was ready, so the emperor and his company crossed over to their quarters at Calais. Then without staying long in any place the emperor rode on till he came to the Court of France, where he related to the king and the princes of his council what he and Duke William of Hainault had been able to do in England concerning the business of coming to peace, with which the king and his council were greatly provoked, for they thought that the English would not be satisfied with what they had but would soon again cross into France.

And to tell about Duke William, he set out from London about twelve days after the emperor, and went to his own country Holland. A.D. 1416.

In this year died John, Duke of Berry, uncle of the King of France, and the duchess his wife afterwards married the Lord of Latremouille, with which Duke John of Burgundy was much dissatisfied, for at this time he had little liking for the said Lord of Latremouille. The said lady was in her own right Countess of Boulogne; but the said Duke John, being informed of this marriage, promptly sent the Lord of Fosseux, Governor of Artois, to seize the town of Boulogne and keep it in his hands. Already, however, the Lord of Moreul had been appointed to it on the part of the King of France, that he should there maintain a frontier against the English.

How the King of England sent his brother the Duke of Clarence with a powerful army to raise the seige of Harfleur. CHAPTER XVII.

DURING the same season of which we are speaking, the King of England, as the result of much deliberation in council, caused to be raised and fitted out a large and fine army, which he committed to the charge of his brother the Duke of Clarence, to go and raise the siege which the French had laid to the recently conquered town of Harfleur, and to maintain there a frontier against them. The Duke of Clarence then with a fine fleet of vessels loaded with men-at-arms and artillery arrived at the port of Harfleur in Normandy, where by force of arms he destroyed the French ships which had long maintained a blockade before the said town of Harfleur, and a large proportion of those

A.D. 1416. in the vessels perished, and the rest were made prisoners. After the Duke of Clarence had raised the siege, and re-victualled the town, and recruited the garrison with fresh men, he returned to England very joyful at his good fortune, where he was very gladly received by the king his brother, and by all his friends.

Further, about St. Remy's day in the year 1416 the emperor, grandly attended, returned to England to King Henry, that is to say, to the town of Calais, where they met about certain matters just entered upon. Duke John of Burgundy came to them at this place of Calais, where he was honourably entertained, but as a hostage for his safety the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King of England, came to St. Omer, where he was politely received, often visited, and continually kept in company, by the young Count Philip of Charolois, who knew well how to do it; for he was in his lifetime the most polite prince in the world; and the Duke of Gloucester thanked him much for the respect he paid him and the good company he afforded.

Duke John of Burgundy being at Calais was earnestly requested and pressed by the King of England that he should go over from being on the side of the King of France against him and his, on condition that he should share in some of the conquests he should make in France, and King Henry promised to undertake nothing against his lands and lordships, or any of his friends, allies, or well-wishers, This request Duke John would not agree to; but the truce which had formerly been settled between them, concerning the commerce between their countries and the two kingdoms, was prolonged for three years, that is to say, till Michaelmas, 1419.

And, as I was informed, the principal cause which moved the Duke of Burgundy to come to Calais was

that he desired to see the emperor and speak to him, A.D. 1416.
and could find no better means of doing it, for the emperor had never come to him because of the strifes and disputes that were between him and the Orleanists. And there the Duke of Burgundy did homage to the emperor for the counties of Alost and Burgundy. Then, when he had sojourned eight days at Calais, and accomplished what he went for, he took leave of the kings and princes, and returned to St. Omer, likewise the Duke of Gloucester his hostage went back to Calais.[1]

The King of France and those of his council wondered greatly about this journey of the Duke of Burgundy, and held it for certain that he had allied himself to the said King of England to the prejudice of the Crown of France, about which there had never been a word but what you have heard; but Duke John of Burgundy so loved the King of France, and was so sincere that he would never comply with the requests of the King of England, although he might have had great reason to become a postulant himself at this juncture, for a large proportion of the princes of France had conceived great hatred and ill-will against him for the death of the Duke of Orleans, which could no way be well explained, and about which death there daily arose different opinions, rumours and murders; at which the King of England and his people were not displeased, and this was not to be wondered at, for if France had then been peaceful and united, the King of England would have had much to do before he could have advanced as he did; but for the sins of the French, it pleased our Lord that they should be punished.

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[1] Where he expressed to the king his brother and to the other lords his satisfaction with the good entertainment which had been given him by the Count of Charolois and the Burgundians, H.

How the Earl of Dorset with four thousand fighting-men made a raid before Rouen and in the country of Caux; and of what happened to him. CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1416. ABOUT this time the Earl of Dorset, who remained at Harfleur, took the field himself on a certain day with four thousand English fighting-men, and went before the city of Rouen to make a raid; and thence he went round and round the country of Caux, where he continued for three days, and did great damage by fire and sword; but in the meantime the garrisons of the country united, their commander being the Lord of Willequier; so they found themselves about as numerous as the English, that is, three to four thousand; and the two armies met pretty near Wallemont. As soon as the French perceived the English coming, they rushed upon them so fiercely that they soon routed them, and there remained on the field at least eight hundred slain or captured, and the remainder with the said earl retreated into a garden quite surrounded by a strong thorny hedge, where they held out for the rest of the day, while the French could not get at them, without hurting themselves very much, wherefore towards evening they withdrew to a neighbouring village to eat and rest themselves. The Earl of Dorset and his men, fearing the contest of the morrow, left the said garden about daybreak, taking the most direct way they could towards Harfleur. The French being informed of their departure, very swiftly pursued, and overtook them about two leagues from Harfleur, where they immediately attacked them, expecting to do to them as they had done the day before; but it happened quite otherwise, for the English, seeing the ill-will

which these mad Frenchmen bore towards them, and A.D. 1416.
also that they could not escape death or captivity except by valour and hardihood, also to avenge the injury received on the previous day, and extricate themselves from present danger, all got down from their horses, and put themselves in such order, and made such a vigorous defence, that they discomfited the French, and put them to flight; and there died at least twelve hundred of them on the spot, among whom was their captain the Lord of Willequier, and many noble men of the country, and the rest got away as well as they could, or surrendered themselves prisoners. So happen the chances of war, at one time to lose and at another to gain.

At the time that these things happened the emperor had returned from the second journey he had made to meet the King of England, hoping to make peace between him and the King of France, which he never was able to accomplish; wherefore he took leave of the King and of the French princes, then took his way towards Germany; and in passing through Savoy he made the count a duke; which duke was afterwards elected pope by the Council of Bâle.

How the King of England with a great force of armed men came to land in Toucques in Normandy, where on his arrival they surrendered the castle to him by treaty. CHAPTER XIX.

IN the year 1417 King Henry of England, seeing the A.D. 1417.
time propitious for following up his conquests, after he had held a great parliament at his palace of Westminster, and had settled all his affairs as well for the government of his kingdom as touching the army he wished to lead this season into France, sent out a

A.D. 1417. special summons throughout the kingdom of England to all princes, barons, knights, men-at-arms, archers, and generally to all those who were accustomed to warfare, that each without delay or objection should be ready on a day which he fixed, supplied with horses and weapons, and all accoutrements pertaining to the person of a warrior, and should appear on the day named at the port of Southampton, where they would find him ready to receive them. On the day appointed by the king, all those who were summoned came to Southampton, and there found with the king the Dukes of Exeter, Clarence, and Gloucester; the Earls of Huntingdon, Warwick, Salisbury, Northumberland, Arundel, Stanfort, and Kent[1]; also there came the great Lord de Ros, the Lord of Cornwall,[2] and Sir John his son, and many great barons, knights, and esquires, with a great number of archers and other warlike men. Then King Henry, seeing his affairs ready, went on board his fleet, and had the anchors weighed, and set sail; and at the departure from the harbour of Southampton there was a great sound of trumpets and clarions, with musicians and different instruments.

The English sailed before the wind so that they came to port at Toucques in Normandy; and it was the intention of the king to conquer the whole duchy of Normandy, and bring it under his command; and having come before the said Toucques, where they saw that the castle was very[3] . . . they besieged it on every side, for they landed as they pleased in good order without any resistance; and the king lodged in the village, and the rest as best they could in tents, arbours, and pavilions. The king quickly set up his engines and all things proper for the assault; wherefore the captain, called Sir John de Jennes, seeing these preparations, and knowing that help would be long in appearing,

[1] See note on p. 140.
[2] See note on p. 181.
[3] Some word omitted in the French text.

surrendered the castle to the command of the King of England, bargaining for the safety of his own person and goods, and those of his men. So he had three days indulgence to clear them out, and these they received from the King of England, who truly kept his promise to them. A.D. 1417.

After this surrender, and when the king had appointed a good garrison to keep the place, he prepared to set out thence, and placed in front his vanguard, then rode himself in the midst of his main body, and afterwards came his rear-guard; but between the vanguard and the main body were the waggons and carts, provisions and artillery. In the way you have heard the King of England proceeded through the country of Normandy, conquering towns and castles with little resistance; such as Harcourt, Verhelwin, Beaumont, Evreux, and many others, where he always placed good garrisons. And besides this, many towns made an agreement with the King of England, promising under good security to do whatever the town and city of Rouen should do.

The other more powerful towns and fortresses of the country began to be much astonished at these surrenders, promises, and agreements; moreover they had few to defend them, for most of the nobles of the country were disunited, some holding to the party of the King of France, and others to that of Duke John of Burgundy, so that they would not trust one another. On the other hand, the constable had collected all his men, and withdrawn the garrisons that they might be in Paris or its neighbourhood this March, against the approach of the said Duke John, whom they daily expected with his whole force. Thus, as you hear, the whole kingdom of France was disunited, which was a thing very favourable for the enterprise of the King of England.

And about this time the Cardinal of Colonna was elected to the popedom, and was called Pope Martin.

Here it makes mention of the great exploits of the King of England in the country of Normandy.
CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1417. DURING this season, as has been told, while the King of England was in the country of Normandy, with a great force of men-at-arms and archers, he conquered towns and fortresses in such wise that there were few that durst refuse him or resist him, because of the great dissensions between the French and the Burgundians, as has above been intimated. So he brought under his command the towns of Evreux, Falaise, Bayeux, Liseux, Coutances, Avranches, Saint Lo, and many others.

For fear of this king the Count of Harcourt retired to his Castle of Aumarle, at which place his cousin, Jacques de Harcourt, came to see him with the appearance of great love; wherefore the count allowed him to enter, he and all his people, within the place. When the said Sir Jacques found himself the strongest inside, he took the said Count of Harcourt prisoner, and sent him to Crotoy; thus Sir Jacques de Harcourt played his cousin a trick which was not honourable, but to his very great dishonour.

During this time three captains of the Duke of Burgundy, that is to say, the Lord of Lilladam, the Lord of Chasteller, and le Veau de Bar, with their men took the good town of Paris, where the King of France was at that time; and there marvellous deeds were performed, and great slaughter of men. At which taking of Paris the Count of Armagnac, constable of France, was killed, and with him the chancellor, and many other great lords; so it was piteous to be in Paris then because of the enormities that were committed in it.

At this time also, with the approval of the holy council of Constance, Pope Martin appointed the said general council to be convoked in the fifth year following, that is the year 1423. A.D. 1417.

Then the King of England sojourned no longer in the country of Normandy, but continued to go forward, taking, as we have said, towns and castles as his true and lawful heritage, which several kings his predecessors[1] had peacefully enjoyed; and he desired to have it as belonging to him. Therefore when he found himself possessed of a large extent of country, he went to lay siege to the good town of Caen, which was very powerful and populous.

He immediately assaulted it, and lost many of his men, but so continued his attacks that he took the town by force, and there perished at least six hundred of the defenders. The castle held out about three weeks longer, and in it were the Lords of La Faiette and Montenay, with Sir John Bigod, who at last surrendered, in consequence of the assurance which King Henry gave them that he would allow them to depart in safety with their goods.

After this conquest of the town and castle of Caen, he sent his brother the Duke of Gloucester to besiege the strong town and castle of Cherbourg, which was the strongest place in all the Duchy of Normandy, and the best supplied with provisions and all the apparatus of defensive warfare. So the siege continued at least ten months without [the besieged] ever receiving help; but at the end of that time Sir John de Jennes, who was the captain, surrendered it to the Duke of Gloucester for and in the name of the King of England, stipulating that at his departure he should have a certain sum of money, and safe-conduct to go where it seemed good to him. He was in the city of Rouen after it was conquered by the King of

[1] *Succesſeurs* in text.

A.D. 1417. England, and remained there for the time that his safe-conduct lasted on the faith of some English lords, who gave him to understand that they would get it prolonged for him; in which he was in the end deceived, for King Henry ordered his head to be cut off because he had taken money for the surrender of Cherbourg, which was still well supplied with provisions and artillery. All good Frenchmen were very glad at this, because through coveting money he had thus sold the said place to the great injury of the King of France.

How the King of France sent a large garrison to Rouen, to keep the town against the English. CHAPTER XXI.

AT this time many good captains were sent to the city of Rouen on the part of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, to help the inhabitants to defend it against the King of England and his force, by which they daily expected to be besieged. They were the Lord of Pasmes; the Lord of Montagu, Sir John de Neufchâtel, Sir Antony de Tholongon, Sir Andrew Des Roches; Henry de Cauffort; the bastard of Tyan; Great Jacques, a native of Lombardy; Gerard, bastard of Brimeu; and others renowned in arms; besides this there were there already Sir Guy de Boutillier, captain general of all in the town, a native of Normandy, and Laghuen, bastard of Arly. All these captains together might be four thousand warriors or more, all picked men. And the inhabitants of the town were full sixteen thousand men, all armed and accoutred according to their condition, ready and desirous to defend themselves against all those who would seek to do them injury. These by common accord with the men-at-arms above mentioned, began in earnest to put in order the gates, bulwarks, walls,

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towers, and moats of the town, both inside and outside, with the intention of resisting King Henry and his army. Besides they made many military arrangements for guarding and strengthening it; likewise formed the citizens into constableries. And it was proclaimed with sound of trumpet in all the public places of the town that every dwelling of every person whatsoever should be provided with victuals for at least ten months; and that all who were not able to do this should leave the town and go where they pleased. After which proclamation many poor people went away; also a great number of married and unmarried ladies, burgesses' wives, churchmen, aged men, and little children went to live elsewhere; and in this way the good town of Rouen in Normandy became entirely military. These arrangements being completed, the garrison made several sorties against the English, among whom they sometimes killed some or took prisoners; but also on the other hand some of the men were sometimes left behind in their hands. A.D. 1417.

At this time a brigand captain, named Thabary, who adhered to the Burgundian party, dominated the districts of Pontoise, Lisle-Adam, Gisors, and Normandy. He was little of stature, ugly, and lame. He often collected from forty to fifty peasants, sometimes more, sometimes less, armed and furnished with old coats and jackets of mail, carrying old battle axes smoked or blackened, and other accoutrements in poor condition. These went, some mounted on wretched horses or mares, and others on foot, with the said Thabary, to ambush in the woods and forests where the English kept themselves; and when they could take any of them the said Thabary cut their throats without mercy or ransom, and similarly he did to those who adhered to the party of the Dauphin of France, when he could catch any of them. This Thabary kept the upper

A.D. 1417. hand a good while, greatly hated both by English and French. Such were the doings in France and Normandy at the time that the English were conquering the country, as you can hear.

And when the King of England had caused to be repaired and well provisioned the towns and castles of Caen and Cherbourg, he took his way towards Pont de l'Arche, which he besieged by sea and by land, and finally carried by assault.

How the King of England laid siege to the good town of Rouen. CHAPTER XXII.

WHEN the King of England, then, had taken most of the towns and fortresses of the country of Normandy, as I have said, at least the principal ones, and at each of the places had appointed his garrisons and captains as seemed good to him, he set out from Pont de l'Arche in fine array and good order, drawing towards the good town of Rouen. And as he approached there remained in his way neither stronghold, nor tower, nor strong castle that did not submit to his orders. And he prospered so that he came before the noble and powerful city with a great display of engines and artillery just at the beginning of the month of June, before the besieged could be provided with new cereals or new wines. The vanguard arrived before the town just at midnight, in order that those within might make no sallies against them. The king lodged in the Maison des Chartreux, and his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, lodged at the gate of St. Hilary, the Duke of Clarence at the Caux and Martanville gate, the Earl of Warwick at the Beauvais gate, and the Duke of Exeter with the Earl of Dorset at

the castle gate, the Earl Marshal and the Lord of Cornwall at the bridge gate; at the other side of the water towards Normandy were posted the Earls of Southampton, Salisbury, and Kent; with them Lord Neville, son of the Earl of Northumberland, and before St. Catherine-on-the-hill were posted some other English barons. A.D. 1417.

However, before the said besiegers were fortified in their camp, they were assailed by several skirmishing parties of the besieged, and there were great deeds of arms done on one side as well as the other. But Henry, as soon as he could, gave orders to make great trenches between the town and his encampment, and on the banks of these to erect high fences of thorns, so that the English could not be surprised or troubled, except by cannons and firearms. And afterwards the King of England commanded to fix iron chains in the waters of the Seine on each side of the river, about a cannon shot from the town; one chain was a foot and a half below the water, the second at the surface, and the third two feet above, which thing the king did in order that the besieged might not obtain relief by boats, and also that they might not be able to get out by water and escape his hands. Further, the marshals of the king had many deep trenches made in various places for going securely from one part of the encampment to another.

It was not long after the town of Rouen was surrounded when those who were within St. Catherine surrendered the fortress to the King of England through want of provisions, and evacuated it, only saving their lives, without carrying away any of their goods.

The King of England had in his following at least twenty thousand Irishmen, of whom the greater part went on foot, a shoe on one foot and none on the

A.D. 1417. other. They were poorly equipped, each one having a shield, and short spears with large knives of strange fashion; and those who went on horseback had no saddles, however, they rode very skilfully on good little mountain horses, and their paniers were pretty much of the same fashion as those which are carried by the French corn-merchants. These people had little powers of defence compared with those who are natives of the country of England, and they carried no weapons with which they could do much harm to the French when these encountered them. During the siege these Irish, with others who were English, often overran the country of Normandy, and committed evils beyond estimation, carrying back a great deal of booty to their camp. The said Irish even took little children in their cradles, beds and other baggage which they put upon cows, then mounted on the top and brought all to the camp, and they were often met in this condition by the French. By these raids, as well by the English as the Burgundians, and the adherents of the dauphin, the country of Normandy was greatly oppressed, and the poor people ruined.

Moreover, the King of England, being at the siege before Rouen, got many large cannons and bombards with mortars and other engines set up before the gates and walls of the town to undermine them and knock them down. And similarly the besieged, by all ways and means in their power, injured their enemies, as well by their shooting as by sallies which they often used, and which it would be too long to describe each by itself; but in truth the said besieged behaved very valiantly.

During this siege, Laguen, the bastard of Arly, who was one of the captains of the town, and the one in whom the common people had the greatest confidence, had the charge of the Caux gate. Before this gate there came one day Sir John Le Blancq, captain of

Harfleur for the King of England, and asked the said Laguen to break three lances against him, which thing the bastard freely agreed to; and as soon as he was armed he sallied forth from the gate, with thirty companions on foot only, and there before the barrier the two champions ran against each other with good will; but it happened that by the first blow the English knight was pierced through the body by the lance and carried off his horse, and besides was drawn by force into the town, where he soon died, which was a great pity, for he was a knight of good renown. And the said bastard was very sorry for his death, but he could do nothing else. However, he had four hundred nobles from the friends of the deceased for giving up the body. For this thing the bastard was greatly lauded, valued, and honoured by all; but, to tell the truth, such passages of arms could profit neither the besiegers or the besieged, except for the renown of their valiant nobility. A.D. 1417.

When, then, the French had been besieged a long while, and were therefore finding themselves getting very short of provisions and all other necessaries, they found means of making a sally in the evening, in order to put out of the city an aged and subtle priest, and to send him to the King of France, well instructed in what he was to say to the king and his council on behalf of the besieged ones of Rouen. The said priest thus committed to fortune very ingeniously escaped everywhere the best way he could, and used such diligence that he arrived at Paris, where he explained his mission before the king and his council through an Augustine doctor named Eustace of Pavia, that is to say, [he told] of the tribulation, danger, and necessity in which the people of Rouen were placed. And in explaining it he took for his text, "Quid faciemus?" which words he expounded very wisely and in orthodox manner. After this fine sermon the priest

A.D. 1417. said to the king, "Most excellent prince, it is enjoined "on me by the inhabitants of the good town of "Rouen to cry against you, and also against you, "sire Duke of Burgundy, who have the government "of the king and his kingdom, that is to say, that I "signify to you the distress which they suffer from "the English; so they send to you, and make known "by me, that if for want of your help they are "obliged to become subjects of the King of England, "you will not have in the whole world worse enemies "than they; and if they can they will ruin you "and your dynasty." These and the like words this priest spoke, and earnestly remonstrated with the King of France and his council, and after they had given him a grand reception, and also the Duke of Burgundy had promised him that it should be attended to as quickly as possible, he returned the best way he could, carrying his tidings to the besieged, whom he reached without hindrance.

Soon afterwards the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy sent an embassy to Pont de l'Arche, to treat with the King of England for peace between them and their kingdoms, and with the said embassy went the Cardinal des Ursins to mediate between the parties. In which legation there were for the King of France the Bishop of Beauvais, Maitre Philip de Morviller, first president; Sir Regnault de Folleville, knight; Sir William de Champ-divers; Maitre Thery Le Roy, and some others; to meet whom there came to the said place of Pont de l'Arche the Earl of Warwick, Chancellor of England; the [Arch]bishop of Canterbury, and others of the king's council. This embassy lasted about fifteen days, during which time the said cardinal went to the King of England at his camp before Rouen, where he was received with honour by the king and the other princes. And the said ambassadors of France had brought with them the portrait of

the lady Catherine, the noble daughter of the king, A.D. 1417.
painted to the life; this was presented to King Henry, and pleased him very much. Still nothing could be agreed on between them, because he made demands which to the French appeared extravagant; that is to say, that there should be given him with the daughter of the King of France ten hundred thousand crowns in gold; the duchy of Normandy, of which he had already made almost the entire conquest; the duchy of Aquitaine; the county of Ponthieu and other seignories formerly possessed by his ancestors; and all without holding them under the King of France. So the French ambassadors made reply that the King of France was in no condition to [confirm treaties][1]; that he could not without grave reasons alienate the heritage of the crown; that the dauphin was not yet king to go so far in negotiation, and also that the Duke of Burgundy had no power to make such bargains.

After these questions and answers the cardinal and the French ambassadors returned to the king, the queen, and the Duke of Burgundy, who had lately removed from Paris to Pontoise, and to whom they told the condition of their embassy. And within a short time afterwards the Cardinal des Ursins returned to the pope, who was staying at Avignon, for he felt that nothing could be agreed upon between the two parties above mentioned.

When the people of Rouen knew that the embassy had broken up, and saw that help was long in coming, they took the resolution together to sally out in force one day and fight one of the besieging parties of the King of England. But before this they anew thrust out of their city at least twenty thousand poor people, men, women, and children, who had nothing to live on, with priests also, and ladies married and unmarried, wives of burgesses, and aged men, who were eating,

[1] These words are supplied by H.

A.D. 1417. and could do nothing else to help. But when the English saw these people issue forth from the gates and bulwarks they placed themselves in front of them, and the archers shot slowly into the midst of them, by which some were wounded; wherefore they withdrew into the trenches of the town, where they remained for the space of three days in great want, crying out, weeping, dying, and the women in labour, which was a pitiable thing to behold, so much so, that at length those of the garrison and the townspeople were constrained by the pity and compassion which they had for them to replace them within the town; wherefore the famine and mortality came to be so great, that in a short time there died at least thirty thousand persons, men, women, and little children.

Those of the garrison, seeing that their affairs were going badly, their provisions running short, and help delaying, as I have already said above, sent forth from the town ten thousand good warriors; and the city being closely kept it was ordered that each should be provided with food for three days. And when all was ready for effecting their purpose, and two thousand at least had already sallied forth [they rushed] on the camp of the King of England, where at the onset they did great execution. They believed that the rest would follow, but it happened that the English who formed the siege on this side were secretly warned of the sortie of the French; wherefore by night they with noiseless tools cut the piles which supported the bridge; consequently those who first got upon it unluckily fell into the water; for the bridge sank; and so some of them perished, and the others were hurt. Their companions were greatly surprised, and not without cause; and seeing this misfortune, they hastened to another gate, to succour and help their comrades whom they knew to be in great danger; so

by great valour they got them back into the town, A.D. 1417.
but it was not without loss to both parties. After this affair, there began great murmuring through the city against the fidelity of Sir Guy-le-Boutillier, for he was believed either to have caused the said bridge to be sawn, or to have given information to the English.

And about this time Languen, the bastard of Arly, died through sickness; wherefore those of the commonalty of the town were sadly disconsolate; for they loved him greatly as has been said above; and they relied on him more than on any of the other captains for loyalty and valour.

Now we shall, for a little, leave speaking of the Rouen people, and tell you about the King of France and those of his party.

Of things which were done, and which happened during the siege of Rouen. CHAPTER XXIII.

Now to speak of the condition of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, it is true that in order to aid the condition of the people of Rouen, they sent great summonses throughout the kingdom wherever their rule was acknowledged; and there came people in large numbers to the appointed place round Beauvais. Among those who came were chiefly all the lords of Picardy and all those under them that were accustomed to carry arms; by whom the countries through which they passed, and where they lodged, were greatly troubled. And then the king, the queen, the Duke of Burgundy, and their retinues came from Pontoise to Beauvais, in order that there might be more abundant food. At which place there were held by common consent, many close councils to consider

A.D. 1417. how the people of Rouen should be assisted, but they could not devise any means, because of the dissensions that existed between the Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, besides that the King of England was so powerfully supported. The king therefore summoned people from all parts where he expected to levy them; and the people of Tournay came in crowds.

During the time that the King of France and his council were staying at Beauvais, there were sent thither by the common consent of all the besieged within Rouen, four gentlemen and four burgesses, to lay before them the pitiful condition in which they were within the town, and the evils they were suffering and had long suffered. For they said there to the king personally before the Duke of Burgundy and the great council, how that many thousands of people inside were already dead from hunger; and that since the beginning of October they had been obliged to eat horses, dogs, cats, rats, and other vile things, not lawful for human beings; and that they had already thrust out of the town more than sixteen thousand helpless persons, of whom the greater part had died miserably within the trenches of the town. And good people had drawn over the wall many of the new-born children of women who gave birth to them there, and they were sent up in panniers in order to have them baptized, and then returned to their mothers; but plenty of them died without being christened; which things were very sad, and pitiable even to hear related. Then they said to the king: "Sire, and you noble Duke of Burgundy, "the good people of Rouen have many times signified "to you and made known the great necessity and "distress which they suffer through their love to you, "for which [necessity] you have not provided as you "promised; therefore this last time we have been "sent to your presence, to announce to you that if "within a few days they are not relieved, they will

" surrender to the King of England; and from this A.D. 1417.
" time if you do not this they will renounce the fealty,
" oath, loyalty, and homage which they now yield to
" you." To whom it was graciously answered that as yet there was not a force great enough for raising the siege of Rouen; for which the king and his whole council were very sorry; but if it pleased God they would shortly be relieved. And they asked within what time? To which the Duke of Burgundy replied that it would be within fourteen days after Christmas. Upon which answer the eight men returned to the town of Rouen the best way they could, which was not without great doubt and fear, and with good cause, for it was at [the peril of] their lives. Notwithstanding this, however, they re-entered within the town, very glad to have thus escaped from the said journey without peril or misfortune. When they got back there, they related to their people all that they had done; so the said besieged were from bad to worse; and it is difficult to believe the hardships which the people suffered within; for, as it has since been veritably known, there perished, of famine especially, during the said siege above the number of fifty thousand persons. And it was so that some when they saw food carried through the streets, ran as in desperation to take it, in doing which they suffered being beaten and cruelly hurt; for during three months there were no provisions whatever sold in the market, but people sold them secretly; and that which before the siege sold for one denier of the country, then sold for twenty, thirty, forty deniers; and at last the poor people could not procure food for any money. Therefore, as has been said, there were during the siege such tribulations as would be too long to describe.

It was about mid-December when the above-named ambassadors returned from the King of France

A.D. 1417. and the Duke of Burgundy, and during the tribulations Sir Jacques de Harcourt and the Lord of Moreul gathered two thousand men, whom they led to [within about two leagues of][1] the camp of the King of England, with the intention of doing something against them that should be remembered. And in fact they halted in two places quite near to each other, to see their enemies approach; then they appointed their scouts, at least six score men-at-arms, who went and pushed into a village pretty near the camp, where they found some English, who were soon killed or taken prisoners, except some who through having good horses got away, and fled to their camp raising a loud alarm, saying that they had seen the French in great numbers. Then the King of England and his marshals ordered their people to arm themselves, and the king commanded the Lord of Cornwall to mount his horse, taking with him six hundred fighting men, and to go to find out what these people were. The Lord of Cornwall obeyed the command and order of the king, and very sharply left the camp with those who were given him, and some of those who had brought the tidings. They soon found the French scouts, who, seeing the English to be too numerous for them, turned very quickly, and made for their ambuscade, whom they told that the English were coming. The said Lord of Cornwall rode quickly and in good order after them, and approached so near that they could see each other plainly. Then the French placed some men in order to meet the English, and the others, indeed the greater part, turned their backs and took to flight; wherefore the said English with great courage rushed on the remainder, whom they routed and shamefully put to flight. And this very day there were killed or taken twelve score French men-at-arms, among whom were made prisoners the two captains above named,

[1] These words are supplied by H.

with Butor, bastard of Croy, and many other noble men. For which victory the Lord of Cornwall returned to the camp very joyful, with little loss of his men, bringing his prisoners, and making good cheer for his happy fortune; for which King Henry and all those of the army made great jubilation. A.D. 1417.

Of the manner in which the good town of Rouen surrendered to the King of England. CHAPTER XXIV.

MEANWHILE the King of France, the queen, the Duke of Burgundy, and the council being at Beauvais, as has been said above, and with them many lords ecclesiastical and secular, held many consultations about the affair of the English and the siege of Rouen. But in the end it was decided that for the present the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy were not strong enough to fight the King of England and raise his siege; and thus they dismissed most of the men-at-arms whom they had called together, retaining only some of them, who were placed in garrison on the frontiers, as well against the English as against the dauphin's party.

After the decisions above mentioned, the King of France, the queen, and Duke John of Burgundy, attended by some armed Burgundians, and a good number of others, went from Beauvais to Provins by Cruel and Lagny-sur-Marne, at which departure many people were greatly surprised. And the tidings were soon carried to the people of Rouen, to whom word was secretly sent by the Duke of Burgundy to treat with the King of England for their safety the best way they could, and that otherwise there was no remedy.

A.D. 1417. When the news above mentioned was spread through the town of Rouen, it need not be asked whether there was great mourning, for in truth all the inhabitants generally were filled with such sadness of heart, that they could bear no more; and certainly there was cause. But as for most of the men-at-arms they were wondering how they could sally out of their present danger. Some of the captains however, and with them the most notable people of the town, comforted them as well as they could; and soon afterwards met in the town hall to take counsel with each other as to how they should conduct themselves towards the King of England. At the close of which council it was concluded and determined, that since they had lost hope of relief from the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, and besides that they had no more food to support themselves, it was matter of necessity that they should treat with their enemies somehow. So by common consent they sent a herald to king Henry in order to procure a safe-conduct for six men only to go to him; and this was sent. Two ecclesiastics, two gentlemen, and two burgesses, all wise and prudent, were appointed to fulfil this embassy, and they were going straight towards the king's tent; but they were conducted to the quarters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, with the Earl of Warwick, was charged with the negotiations with them on behalf of the king. When the above-named were assembled, there were many matters discussed, to find out what conclusion they could arrive at; but this time they could obtain no terms except that all the men in the town should place themselves absolutely at the disposal of the king. Upon this the said ambassadors returned into the town, where they brought together anew a great number of the most distinguished people, with some of the commons, to whom they made their report,

which appeared strange enough. And it was declared A.D. 1417.
by the whole audience that they would prefer to live and die together fighting their enemies at any risk, rather than voluntarily place themselves at their disposal in this cowardly manner. This day they separated without concluding anything; but next day a great multitude gathered again, and after much conference they at length agreed to support part of a broken wall on props of wood before the town, then arm themselves, and after setting fire to the town in many places, they would knock down the said part of the wall into the trenches, and all together, men, women and children would rush through the gap and out by the nearest gate; then go where God might lead them. So this council separated with the intention of putting their design in execution on the morning of next day.

Now it came to pass, that during that night the King of England was warned of their determination; and inasmuch as he greatly desired to have this town in its entirety under his authority, he made feigned excuses for inviting the ambassadors back, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom and others of this commission there was so much negotiated, that they agreed in the manner now to be set forth.

First, it was settled that the King of England should receive from all the burgesses and residents of the said town of Rouen the sum of three hundred and forty-five thousand crowns in gold, of the coinage of France; and three men, who were named, should be given up to his disposal; namely, Maitre Robert de Luyot, vicar-general of the Archbishop of Rouen, who had behaved very prudently during the siege; the second was a burgess named Sir John Jourdain, who had had charge of the cannonading; the third was named Allain Blanchard, captain of the common people. And besides all this, the inhabitants should universally swear to the

A.D. 1417. king, and his successors the Kings of England, to yield service, loyalty, and entire obedience, while he promised them to guard and defend them against those who might seek to do them violence; also he would protect them in the privileges, franchises, and liberties which they possessed in the time of the good King St. Louis. Further, it was decided that all those who wish to depart from the said town should go freely, clothed in some of their garments only, and the rest [of their property][1] should remain confiscated to the king. And afterwards it was also settled that all the men-at-arms of the garrison should bring all their goods generally to certain places indicated; and after they should have made oath to the King of England not to take up arms for a year against the King of England he would cause them to be safely conducted beyond his jurisdiction; each one wearing his ordinary clothes, all on foot, and staff in hand.

A.D. 1418. After these conditions were granted and accepted, and the king had received hostages to secure the things above mentioned, a sufficient number of the townspeople went to the king's camp to obtain provisions, which there were in great abundance, and the whole flesh of a sheep was worth only six Parisian sous. This treaty was completed on the 16th day of January, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen; and on the Thursday following, the 19th day of the month, King Henry entered the said town of Rouen, accompanied by the princes of his blood and other nobles in very great numbers. And the king had a page behind him on a very handsome courser, carrying a lance to which near the blade he had tied a fox's tail after the manner of a pennon, on which many wise people made remarks.

At his entrance, which was about two hours after noon, all the bells of the town were rung; and to

[1] H.

meet him went all the ecclesiastics, arrayed in sacred vestments, the mitred abbots carrying handsome reliquaries; and all singing led him to the cathedral church of Notre Dame, before the portal of which he alighted from his horse, and with head uncovered entered within, and went down on his knees before the great altar, where he made his prayer and offering. Then he went to sleep within the castle, and the rest each were he best could. A.D. 1418

The town of Rouen was thus conquered by the King of England, and consequently the whole duchy of Normandy, which had been subject to the Kings of France for the space of two hundred and fifteen years, ever since King Philip, grandfather of King St. Louis, had obtained it from John of England as confiscated, by the judgment of the peers of France, in default of payment of the relief.

Next day he ordered Allain Blanchard [the captain][1] of the common people to be beheaded; but the other two, who had been similarly surrendered to his will, were respited, and afterwards set free for large ransoms.

This done, Henry made the French garrison go forth by the bridge gate. They were conducted on foot, as has been said, to the bridge of St. George, by which they were made to cross the Seine, and there, by the servants of the King of England they were examined and rifled, and there was taken from them all the gold, silver, and jewels which they had about them; and each of them was allowed only two sous. Even some gentlemen were stripped of robes furred with sable or loaded with gold embroidery, and there were given to them others of less value. Therefore some of those of the garrison who were coming behind, seeing their companions thus robbed, threw many well filled purses and valuable jewels quietly

[1] H.

A.D. 1418. into the river; and there were some who had before had their aiguilettes tipped with gold in order to carry it secretly. After they had gone over the St. George bridge, they went all together as far as Pontoise; and thence everyone went where it seemed good to him.

But the lords went to the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy at Prouvins, where they were staying; except Sir Guy-le-Boutillier, formerly captain of Rouen, who became English, and swore allegiance to the King of England, for which he was much blamed by the King of France. To this Sir Guy, a native of Normandy, his lands were restored, and he was appointed lieutenant to the Duke of Gloucester, the new captain of the city of Rouen.

Because of this surrender, the fear of King Henry became so great in these districts, as far as Pontoise, Beauvais, and Abbeville, that afterwards most of the fortresses surrendered without striking a blow; that is to say, Caudebec, Montivillers, Dieppe, Fescamp, Arques, Dencourt, Eu, Monceaux; and on the other side of the Seine, and elsewhere, Vernon, Mantes, Gournay, Honfleur, Pont-audemer, Chasteau-Molineaux, Le Troit, Archaville, Abrechier, Maleurier, Vallée, Fontaines-le-Bonoch, Prayaulx, Monion, Domville, Lónguempre, Saint-Germain-sur-Cailly, Brandemont, Bray, Vileterre, Carlemanny, Le Boulle, Guilmecourt, Sery, Le Bec-Crespin, Blanqueville, and many others; within which the King of England placed garrisons. So from that day forward they bore the red cross, and generally every where took oath to the King of England or his delegates. And the dwellers in Rouen were compelled to give security, for everyone to pay the amount, in which he might be assessed, to furnish the sum of 316,000 crowns in gold, of which mention has been made above. And they were obliged not to go forth outside their town without having

each a pass from the king; and the same was required of all others in the country which was under the rule of the King of England. And each pass cost four sous of Flanders, because of which large sums were raised throughout the country, to the profit of the king and his governors. A.D. 1418.

In this year the castle of Coucy, which held out for the dauphin, was taken by the Burgundians; and the captain, named Pothon de Saintrailles, was killed.

During the same season the King of France sent a great multitude of armed men into the castles and fortresses forming frontier to the English, who were overrunning and devastating all the country as far as Pontoise, Clermont, Beauvais, Mondidier, Breteuil, Amiens, Abbeville, and Saint Wallery, by fire and sword, carrying off great spoil; for they were joined by several Normans, who wore the red cross and who knew the ground where they could obtain spoil. And on the other hand, the dauphin party did the like in their quarter, and also the men-at-arms of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy were not idle about doing mischief enough. Thus the whole of the noble kingdom of France was sorely disquieted and oppressed by the three parties; and neither the clergy nor the common people had any defender, or other refuge where to complain and place reliance except in God their Creator waiting for his mercy.

Of a conference that was held between the two Kings of France and England and their Councils. CHAPTER XXV.

DURING the same season the King of France, the queen, and the Duke of Burgundy, being at Prouvins,

A.D. 1418. there were sent to them, as an embassy on behalf of the King of England, the Earls of Warwick and Kent, who were conducted by some of the Duke of Burgundy's people. On their way they were attacked by Taneguy du Chastel and others of the dauphin's party, who at first prevailed, and seized part of the Englishmen's baggage; but in the end the said Dauphinois were routed, and there remained of them forty men-at-arms dead on the spot, and the rest, with the said Taneguy, retired to Meaux en Brie. The said ambassadors then proceeded to Provins, where they negotiated with the Duke of Burgundy and the council of France, and then returned to Rouen, where they reported to their lord the King of England the exploit they had performed in this journey, with which he was satisfied and pleased. So about the middle of April following he sent the same ambassadors again to the King of France and his council, whom they found this time in the city of Troyes in Champagne, in which place so much was negotiated between the two parties that a truce between the two kings was agreed on for a certain time, in the hope of carrying the business further forward together, and a day was appointed for them to meet each other quite near to Meulant. After this determination was taken the said English ambassadors returned to their lord the king at Rouen, and soon afterwards the King of France, the queen his wife, Lady Catherine their daughter, and the Duke of Burgundy, with a great military force, repaired to Pontoise. Having arrived there, according to the appointment made with the English, they prepared a large park where the said convention was to be held. It was well inclosed with good fences and trenches joining the river Seine on one side, and there were many entrances closed with three barriers. Within this enclosure tents and pavilions were erected for the lords to rest in, and some villages in the neighbourhood

were engaged to lodge the horses of both parties; everything in good order. A.D. 1418.

Then the King of England also came to Mantes, to be near the park. And when the day came that these parties were to meet in council the King of France was in bad health; but the Queen of France, Lady Catherine, her daughter, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Count of Saint Pol, with all the council, and at least a thousand fighting men who accompanied them, set out from Pontoise, and alighted at their tents at the said appointed place near Meulant.

Soon afterwards the King of England also arrived, accompanied by his brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, with those of his council, and at least a thousand fighting men. He got down into his tent as the others of the French party had done, and after their messengers had fixed the hour for entering into conference, the Queen of France on the right hand of the Duke of Burgundy, and Lady Catherine on that of the Count of Saint Pol, with their council and some married and unmarried ladies, entered the council park. And in like manner King Henry, with his two brothers and his councillors, came in by another entrance; and bowing himself he respectfully saluted the queen, then kissed her, and did likewise to Lady Catherine. Afterwards the Duke of Burgundy saluted the king, bending his knee a little, and bowing his head; him the king took by the hand and kissed him, doing him great honour. And the King of England walked about a long time hand in hand with the Queen of France, and their men-at-arms stood in order round the barriers; also the entrances were well guarded, so that none might get in except the delegates. And when they had been at the said convention a long time they took leave of each other very respectfully. So one of the parties went to Pontoise, and the other to Mantes; but the next day, and for full three weeks after-

A.D. 1418. wards, they returned and met together for several days, in the same state that had been observed the first time, only Lady Catherine did not return after the first time. She had been brought that the King of England might see her; he was very desirous of having her in marriage, and he had good cause for several reasons; for besides that she had come of the most noble lineage in the world, that is, of the royal race of the fleurs de lis, she was a very handsome lady to look at, of graceful figure, and pleasing countenance.

There then, with a view of making some good treaty, various overtures were made; and be it known how they came sometimes one better attended than the other, and how though the English people and the French were lodged near each other during this time, there never was any disagreement or debate among them about anything, and they sold many commodities the one to the other. Nevertheless, these two parties could not agree together upon anything or be pacified, for the King of England made as it appeared to the council of France great and extraordinary demands with the daughter of their king, as he had done before, and as has been indicated above in more than one place.

Also during this conference, the dauphin and his council, in order to corrupt the Duke of Burgundy, sent Taneguy du Chastel to him, to signify that he, that is to say the dauphin, was ready to be reconciled to him, as the said duke had often made request for this.

Finally, then, this sumptuous convention, which had been so respectfully and gently conducted, separated without doing anything, at which the King of England was greatly provoked, because he could not gain his ends; and he was indignant at Duke John of Burgundy, for he knew him to be at this time the

principal one by whom the affairs of the kingdom of France were managed. And the last day that they were together speaking of this matter the King of England, seeing that what he demanded to have with the daughter of the King of France would not be conceded, said to the Duke of Burgundy: "Fair "cousin, we wish you to know that we will have "the daughter of your king, and with her whatever "we require, or we will thrust both him and you "out of this kingdom." To which the duke replied: "Sire, you say your pleasure; but before you would "have thus excluded my lord and ourselves from his "kingdom, you would be very tired; of this make "no doubt." With these words, and others which would be too long to repeat, they separated from each other, and returned to the busier places of their affairs. A.D. 1418.

How the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy met together under colour of peace near Melun, and appointed a day for its conclusion at Monterau-ou-fault-Yonne. CHAPTER XXVI.

A SHORT time after these unsuccessful conferences, Sir John of Luxemburg, came to the said place of Pontoise with a large body of men-at-arms which he had collected in the country of Picardy by order of the Duke of Burgundy, to attend him to Melun, to a meeting with the Duke of Touraine, dauphin and only son of the King of France, on the day and at the place which they had chosen and named for meeting in person with each other, to treat of peace between the two. To be at this meeting the dauphin came from Tours by Montargis to Melun with a large

A.D. 1418. force of men-at-arms; and likewise Duke John, accompanied by the young Count of Saint Pol, his nephew, and many other great lords, and a good number of armed men, set out from Pontoise and went that way, the Lady of Gyac, who had partly been the manager of this meeting, being in the company. Next day, which was the eleventh of June, the two above-named princes placed themselves on the field, each with his armed force, and they met each other about a short league from Melun, pretty near Poilil-le-fort, in which place there was a small bridge, and they having come within two bowshots of the said bridge made their men form in battalions, then they came out from these, each with only ten men of his party such as they pleased to select, and right in the middle between the two battalions they came to meet each other and dismounted. Then the duke, approaching the dauphin, bent himself many times very humbly and reverently, and the dauphin doing the same took by the hand the duke who was on his knees, kissed him, and wished to make him rise, but the duke would not, and said, "Monseigneur, I know well how I ought "to speak to you." The dauphin raised him still bowing, and forgave him all his offences if he had committed any against him, and besides he said to him, "Fair cousin, if in the treaty made "between us and you there is anything not to your "liking, we wish it to be corrected; and henceforth "we wish and shall wish what you wish and shall "wish, of this let there be no doubt." Finally, after many speeches the two princes and some of their people swore to maintain eternal peace the one towards the other; wherefore all their followers joined in one, crying "Noel!" and showing great signs of being joyful, cursing all those who should ever bear arms for such a damnable quarrel. And after they had been a while in this condition, making great mirth and

displaying signs of love one to the other, the dauphin re-mounted his horse, and the duke held the stirrup, notwithstanding he often begged him to desist. When the dauphin was on his horse the duke and the other lords mounted theirs, and they rode a while together, but at last took leave respectfully of each other, the dauphin, Duke of Touraine, going to Melun, and the Duke of Burgundy to Corbueil. A.D. 1418.

After this the two parties above mentioned caused charters and letters to be composed and written by their counsellors, to enjoin by solemn adjurations and oaths that the peace and union promised between the two princes should be firmly maintained, which oaths or promises were in no wise maintained, as hereafter you may hear briefly, but in the chronicles of France they are set forth at length. However, this peace was published in many places throughout the countries of France and Picardy.

The Duke of Burgundy after these conferences returned to the King and Queen of France at Pontoise, at which place there was great joy for the reconciliation of the two princes above named. From the town of Pontoise the Duke of Burgundy induced the whole court of France to remove to St. Denis, and leaving the Lord of Lisle-Adam to guard the frontier against the English, the king and all his household took their departure. And at this time many solemn processions and joyous festivals were held throughout the kingdom of France for the establishment of the peace above mentioned.

How the town of Pontoise was taken by the English.
CHAPTER XXVII.

Now it is time to return to the King of England, who, when he heard tidings of the peace and agree-

A.D. 1418. ment which had been made between the dauphin and Duke John of Burgundy, was not greatly rejoiced, and not without cause, for it appeared to him, and it was true, that the two joined together would be stronger than when they were disunited. However, notwithstanding all that might injure or vex him, he concluded and determined to continue his quarrel and bring his enterprise to an end, in spite of all his enemies. So it entered into his fancy what a good thing the town of Pontoise would be for him if he could get it; and upon this he summoned some of his most faithful captains, and also of those who had been inside that town during the embassies, of which mention has been made above. To these he declared his will, and they replied that in this and everything else that he pleased to command them they were ready to engage, not sparing their persons in any danger, difficulty, or labour they might have in doing it, and thereupon the king appointed those who were to have charge of this undertaking. They came right to one of the gates of Pontoise before daybreak on the last day of July, they might be about three thousand warriors, some of whom began quickly, by means of ladders they had brought with them, to scale the wall without being perceived by the watch. They then in fact opened this gate by which their companions immediately entered, shouting "St. George! Town "won!" At this cry the town soon became all astir, and the Lord of Lisle-Adam, Marshal of France, awoke and without delay, and fully armed, mounted his horse and with some of his people went to see where the affray was, but when he understood that the English were within the city in such great numbers he returned hastily to his quarters, where he packed up his goods and money, with which, awaking many townspeople on his way, he went straight to the Paris gate which was still shut, but it was opened to

him. There set out in company with him more than ten thousand persons, men and women, very disconsolate, and carrying with them what they could of their best property, as gold and silver plate and jewellery. Of these one part took the road to Paris, and the other to Beauvais; but those who went towards Beauvais were despoiled by John de Guigny and John du Clau, captains of light troops, serving the Duke of Burgundy. A.D. 1418.

Then the English, without meeting any resistance, took and gained the town of Pontoise, where, according to the usual custom in conquered towns, they committed innumerable injuries, and they obtained great spoil, for it was full of all kinds of goods. The principal commander of the English in this expedition was the Captal de Buch, brother of the Count of Foix.

About the capture of this town the French in the neighbourhood, especially towards Paris, were very uneasy, and many of the surrounding villages with the whole of the Isle of France were forsaken by the inhabitants. And when on the same day the tidings of it came to the King of France, who was at St. Denis, he, the Duke of Burgundy and all their court, departed thence very shortly and went to Troyes, by Provins, together with the queen, Lady Catherine, their daughter, and many other lords, leaving the Count de Saint Pol and the Chancellor of France to keep the city of Paris. And the said Lord of Lisle-Adam, marshal of France, who had just escaped from Pontoise, collected as quickly as he could a certain number of men-at-arms, with whom he placed himself in garrison within the town of Beauvais to hold the frontier and resist the aggressions which the English were daily making. However, this Lord of Lisle-Adam, though he took great pains to excuse himself, was much blamed in that he had thus negligently allowed the good town of Pon-

A.D. 1418. toise to be lost for want of a good watch, and especially the governors of the dauphin were much displeased at it, but they could do nothing else in the matter.

How the King of England sent his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to besiege the town of Gisors, which surrendered to the rule of the King of England.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

IMMEDIATELY after the capture of Pontoise the King of England, who day and night thought of nothing but how to accomplish his purpose, summoned his brothers, especially the Duke of Clarence, to whom with a great force of men-at-arms and archers he committed the charge of going to besiege the large town of Gisors; where Lyonnel de Bornoville was captain of the town, and David de Goy of the castle, against whom the English made so much way that at the end of three weeks from the beginning of the siege the town with the fortress surrendered to the Duke of Clarence, partly for want of provisions, and because of the condition that they should go out with all their men, safe in their persons and goods, and the inhabitants should remain subject to the King of England, swearing loyalty to him. And thus the captains and all who wished to go departed, and went to the Lord of Lisle-Adam at Beauvais.

Soon afterwards the fortress of St. Martin-le-Gaillart was besieged, within which were Rigault des Fontaines and Sir Carados des Quesnes, with some others that had always held by the party of the dauphin and Orleans; and a very valiant knight called Sir Philip

Lys was captain of the besieged. But notwithstanding A.D. 1418.
the blockade being round the said fortress, the said Sir Carados left it secretly by night, and went to Compiegne to the Lord of Gamaches, who was captain there at the time, and whom he very earnestly requested to gather people to raise the aforesaid siege. Then the Lord of Gamaches made a great gathering, and summoned many gentlemen belonging to the dauphin's party and some of the Duke of Burgundy's, so that there were in all at least sixteen hundred good fighters, with whom he rode towards the said fortress of St. Martin and came about sunrise to the base of the said fortress. Then he placed his men in order, and appointed four hundred fighting men to go forward and take the barriers which the besiegers had made. Guarding these were found about sixty Englishmen who very sharply defended the position, but in the end they were taken and all killed, except some that saved themselves by flight. Then the said lord and his men, who were following at a short distance rushed into the town where the English were lodged; but the greater part of them were already, and their horses with them, in a large church within the town; and there they defended themselves valiantly. In conclusion, because the English might soon be assisted by people of theirs in these parts, the said Lord of Gamaches set fire to the fortress and brought out in safety those who were within.

After eight days, the Earl of Huntingdon, captain of Gournai, in Normandy, gathered in this district about two thousand fighting men, whom he led to a large village named Poix, where they lodged and did much damage; then they went thence to Breteuil, and delivered a vigorous assault on the fort of the abbey; and because at the said assault some of their men were killed, they burned the town, which was densely crowded. Then they drew towards Clermont, where

A.D. 1418. they took the tower of Vendeul, and set it on fire; and after wasting the country by fire and sword, they returned to their garrisons, with immense booty, and a great number of prisoners.

On the other hand, Sir Philip Lys, above named, who stayed at Eu, made frequent raids to Abbeville, Pont Remy, and throughout Vimeu, the lands of which were greatly oppressed. These incursions and invasions were often vigorously checked by Sir Jacques de Harcourt, who stayed at Crotoy, and Hector de Saveuse, with the garrison of Pont Remy; and similarly by Sir Louis de Thienbronne and those who were with him in the town of Gamaches.

How Chastel-Gaillart and La Roche-Guyon were given up to the King of England; and of the sad and treachercus death of Duke John of Burgundy. CHAPTER XXIX.

IN those days the King of England greatly desiring, as has been told, to get to the end of his undertaking, sent to besiege the fortresses of Chastel-Gaillart and La Roche-Guyon, which were the two strongest places in Normandy, and were held by the dauphin's people. Of these La Roche-Guyon at the end of two months, and with the consent of the lady who was within, surrendered to the King of England, who immediately gave the place to Sir Guy le Boutilier; and expected also to get for him the lady in marriage; to which she would never consent, but went out of the country with her people, abandoning her fortress. But Chastel-Gaillart, which belonged to the King of France, held out for sixteen months, at the end of which time it surrendered, because rope failed them, so they could obtain no water. Its captain was Sir Louis de Manny,

who had with him within more than six score gentlemen ; A.D. 1418.
and the siege was kept up by the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent.

During these things, some of the Dauphin's party and the Burgundians had many communications and confidences with each other, consequent on the treaty of peace above mentioned, hoping that it would be lasting ; and they often met with one accord to fight the English, as the ancient enemies of the kingdom of France. But dame fortune managed in such wise that within a short time they were in greater trouble and hatred towards each other than ever they had been before, as shall be briefly set forth in our present work.

You have heard before how the dauphin, only son of the King of France, made and swore peace with Duke John of Burgundy ; after this had been published in those parts of the kingdom that were concerned in it, the said dauphin set out from the place where it had been sworn, and went towards the country of Berry and Touraine with those of his council to visit and strengthen the countries which had formerly been desolated.

After[1] this visitation had been made, some of the most intimate friends of the said dauphin incited and advised him to put to death his cousin Duke John of Burgundy, and get rid of him ; the execution of which thing was decided on to take place at the conference ; but they durst not then attack him, all

[1] He had paid his visit to the said countries and had been warned by his people and those who governed him to find means whereby he might deceive and cause the death of his cousin the Duke of Burgundy (which thing he would willingly have done after the negotiation of the said peace which was made at Corbeil, if he had not seen that the said duke was so powerful that he durst not undertake it), he returned to put it into execution, and came with full twenty thousand fighting men to Monterau-fault-Yonne, &c., H.

A.D. 1418. things being considered, because he was as powerful as his ill-wishers or more so.

The dauphin thus cruelly advised, as you have heard, came with full twenty thousand fighting men to Monterau, at the affluence of the Yonne; and sent Sir Taneguy Du Chastel, with some others of his people, to Troyes, in Champaigne, with letters signed with his hand to the Duke of Burgundy, in which he prayed him most affectionately to come to him at the said place of Monterau, in order to consider and resolve on the restoration of the kingdom, and to counsel him on some of his own important affairs.

The Duke of Burgundy delayed several days carrying out the request of the said letters, that is to say, going to the dauphin, arguing that the dauphin might quite as well come himself to Troyes, to the king his father and the queen his mother; and he repeatedly set forth to the said Taneguy that it would be more becoming and expedient for him to come there than otherwise, so that they could hold their council all together. So the said Taneguy returned to deliver to the dauphin the answer he had received; but finally the dauphin and those of his council determined to remain all together at Monterau and nowhere else. And the said Taneguy returned again to Troyes to Duke John, with whom he so negotiated that he repaired to Bray-sur-Seine, and thence were sent several messengers from the one party to the other, among whom the dauphin sent at last the Bishop of Valence, brother to the Archbishop of Langres, who was then with the Duke of Burgundy, and was one of his principal counsellors, and named Sir Charles de Poitiers.

When the Bishop of Valence came to Bray, he spoke several times to the Duke of Burgundy, and advised him very earnestly that he should go to the dauphin, saying that he should have no doubt or suspicion of foul play; and in like manner he spoke privately to

his brother, assuring him faithfully that he could go A.D. 1419.
in safety, and that to refuse would do harm. The bishop, however, acted in good faith, and knew nothing of the secret council or of that which happened afterwards. Finally as well through the admonitions which he gave to the duke, as through the words of Sir Taneguy Du Chastel, Duke John determined and prepared to go to the dauphin; and set out from Bray in company with the said bishop, on the 10th of September 1419. And he had in his company five hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, of whom the commanders were Sir Charles de Lens, Admiral of France, and Jacques de la Bamme, master of the cross-bowmen; and there were many other lords, namely, Charles, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon; the Lord of Nouaille, brother of the Count de Foix; John, son of the Count de Febourg; the Lord of St. George; Sir Anthony de Vergy; the Lord of Jonuelle; the Lord of Montagu; Sir Guy de Pontaillier; and many others, with whom he rode happily enough to near Monterau; and it was about three o'clock in the afternoon. And there came to meet him there three [1] of his people, of whom one was John Dormay, who told him that they had come from the town and the very spot where the meeting was to be, and where strong barriers very advantageous for the dauphin's party had been newly erected; saying that he should while there was time think well of his act before placing himself inside, for he would be in danger from the dauphin and those in his company. On this report Duke John, still on horseback, gathered his council to inquire, as was right, what it would be well to do; and there were different opinions, for some greatly feared this day's business, considering the tidings and reports they were receiving from hour

[1] Two of his people, John Dormay and Saubertier, H.

A.D. 1419. to hour; others who thought not but that all was well advised it was better to go to the dauphin than not; saying they durst not think that such a prince, the son of the king, and successor to the crown of France, would do anything otherwise than in good faith.

The duke then, seeing and hearing these different opinions of his council, said in a loud, distinct manner in the hearing of all, that he would go with the intention of awaiting whatever fortune it might please God to send him; adding that it should never be imputed to him that the well being and restoration of the noble kingdom of France was any way hindered on account of danger to his person; for it was very certain that if he failed to go, and by any means war or destruction should come of it, the blame and dishonour would fall upon him.

After these words, the noble duke rode on, and approaching his fate entered by the field gate within the castle of Monterau, which castle had been given up to him for lodging by the resolution of the wicked counsellors of the said dauphin, in order that he should have the less suspicion of the evil designs which they cherished towards him. So he made all the great lords that had journeyed with him dismount here, to bear him company, also two hundred men-at-arms and a hundred archers.

Also he had with him the Lady of Gyac, who, as has been already said, had been a means of the peace made between him and the dauphin, and who had greatly persuaded the duke to come to this place, advising him not to fear any treachery. The duke greatly loved this lady, and trusted her in many things; so he had given her, with his most precious jewels, in charge to Philip Josequin as the most faithful of all his counsellors or servants.

Soon after Duke John of Burgundy had alighted he

ordered Jacques de la Bamme to place himself with all his men-at-arms at the entrance of the gate towards the town for the safety of his person, and also to protect the convention. And the same hour came to him Sir Taneguy Du Chastel, who told him that the dauphin was quite ready, and was waiting for him; to which the duke replied that he was going. Then he called those who had been named to go with him, expressly forbidding that any others should go but the said named ones, ten in number, namely:—Charles of Bourbon; the Lord of Nouailles; the Lord of Fribourg; the Lord of St. George; the Lord of Montagu; Sir Antony de Vergy; the Lord of Durem; Sir Guy de Pontaillier; Sir Charles de Lens; Sir Jacques de Gyac; and a secretary named Maitre John Seguinac. And thus went the duke to the first barrier of the bridge; at which place there came to meet him the people of the dauphin, who there again renewed the promises and oaths before made and sworn between the two parties; and this being done, they said to him, "Come to Monseigneur, "who is waiting for you on the bridge." Then they left him, and he asked his people if it seemed to them that he could safely go to the dauphin on the assurances and promises which they knew and had heard to be between them both; and they all, having good and loyal intentions, made answer that surely he might go, considering the promises made by so many distinguished persons on both sides; and they said they surely would dare to take the chances of going with him. On this reply, the duke set himself on the way, making some of his people go before him, and he entered within the first barrier, where again he found the dauphin's people, who said to him, "Come to "Monseigneur, he is waiting for you;" and he said, "I am going to him immediately." So he passed the second barrier, which was locked directly by those employed to do this; and in proceeding he met Sir Taneguy A.D. 1419.

A.D. 1419. Du Chastel, on whose shoulder he very lovingly placed his hand, saying to the Lord of Saint George and the rest of his followers, "See here him whom I trust," and thus he passed onward to quite near the dauphin, who was fully armed, with his sword girded, and was leaning on a barrier. Duke John bent one knee before him to do him reverence, saluting him most humbly; and the dauphin replied without in any way manifesting any appearance of affection, reproaching him that he had badly kept his promise, and had not made his people evacuate the garrisons as he had promised. Meanwhile Sir Robert de Loire took him by the arm saying, "Rise, you are only too respectful;" and the duke, who was on one knee as has been said, had his sword girded and it had got too much behind to please him when he knelt down; so he put his hand to it, to bring it more conveniently forward. Then the said Sir Robert said to him, "How? Do you lay your "hand on your sword before Monseigneur the dauphin?" During these words Sir Taneguy Du Chastel approached on the other side, and gave a sign; and saying, "It is time," he struck the duke so severely on the face with a small axe which he held in his hand, that with this blow he struck down his chin, and he sank on his knees. When the duke felt himself thus struck, he put his hand to his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himself; but immediately he received many heavy blows from the said Taneguy as well as others, and was struck to the ground as dead.

Then immediately, one Oliver Layet, in the service of Pierre de Frotier, thrust a sword under his coat of mail quite into his bowels. While this was going on the Lord of Nouaille half drew his sword thinking to defend the duke, but the Viscount of Nerbonne held a dagger in his hand with which he meant to stab him; and the said Lord of Nouaille seeing this, rushed on the viscount and wrenched the dagger

from his hand, but in doing this he was stabbed from behind with a dagger, and received a blow on the head from an axe, of which he died soon afterwards. A.D. 1419.

While these things were going on, the dauphin, who was leaning on the barrier as you have heard, seeing this marvellous cruelty, drew back as if quite frightened, and was led by his people to his hotel.

There were on the spot some of the duke's knights, who wished to assume the defensive, and of whom some were wounded; but this availed them little, for they were all taken prisoners, except the Lord of Montagu, who was very expert and with naked sword in hand rushed out of the barriers and went to the castle where those of the duke's party were. Then those who had horses mounted them in great haste and departed, manifesting much sorrow; and the others to whom the duke at his departure had committed the duty of guarding the castle were much surprised at seeing that there were no provisions in the place, nor appurtenances of war, except what themselves had brought there, for before their arrival it had been quite stripped of provisions and artillery. In the end they made the best terms they could with the dauphin and his delegates, and departed, safe in their persons and property. So they went straight to Troyes, where they found the King of France, the queen, and many great lords, to whom they reported the sad death of Duke John of Burgundy, at which the whole court was distressed; and when the tidings were spread through the kingdom of France, many a heart was sorrowful and wrathful; some saying that a case like it had never occurred in France, nor greater dishonour to the crown, and that through this the kingdom would some day come to destruction.

On the other hand, when the King of England was informed of this, that is a day after the thing had happened, "A great pity," said he, "it is about

A.D. 1419. "the Duke of Burgundy; he was a good and true "knight, and an honourable prince, but through his "death, by the help of God and St. George, we have "attained our desire, and in spite of all Frenchmen "we shall have Lady Catherine, whom we have so "much wished for." Thus, as you hear, the King of England talked to his barons and knights about the death of Duke John, at which the English nevertheless were greatly rejoiced, because they thought their affairs would get on the better for it.

Some after this event had thus occurred, the dauphin's people took the body of the duke, and undressed it, leaving on only his doublet, his hose, and the cap on his head; then they placed him in a mill which was close at hand, and where he remained all night. Next morning he was buried in the church of Notre Dame, before the altar of St. Louis, just as he was, and there were said for him only some [low][1] masses.

At this time there were in the company of the dauphin many distinguished men who had known nothing of the secret of this matter, and there were among them several that were greatly displeased, considering the trouble, reproach, and mischief that might arise out of it in time to come, both to the kingdom of France, and to the person of their lord the Duke of Touraine. Among others this base act was greatly displeasing to John de Harcourt, Count of Ammarle, and the Lord of Babasan, so that they often reproached those who had devised it, saying they would rather have died than been implicated in it, and that if they had known they would have prevented it, for there never had in their recollection happened such cruelty or disgrace to the blood-royal.

Then on Monday, the 11th[2] of September, the dauphin, after he had held several consultations about his affairs, caused letters to be written to the people

[1] H. | [2] *douziesme* in text.

of the good towns attached to his party, and in A.D. 1419.
many other places, even in Paris, Rheims, and Chalons, thinking to shelter and excuse himself as not having broken the peace. But whatever writing was made it was not believed, for all these who heard it told how under the pretence of peace this piteous murder had been perpetrated on the person of Duke John of Burgundy were highly displeased at it, for he was much beloved in France by the populace and the good towns.

When the intelligence of the treacherous death of Duke John came to the Parisians, they were so sorrowful and confused that they could do nothing. However next morning as early as possible the Count of Saint Pol, lieutenant of the king, the chancellor of France, the provosts of the town of Paris, the merchants, and generally all the officers of the king that were in the city assembled; and with them were a great many nobles, burgesses, and a multitude of the populace, all of whom, after the manner of the piteous death of the very noble Duke John of Burgundy had been set forth, made oath to the said Count of St. Pol to serve and obey him, to be and continue with him with all their power for the preservation and defence of the good city of Paris and its inhabitants, and generally for the preservation of the whole kingdom, resisting with their persons and goods the damnable designs of wicked seducers, breakers of the peace and union of this kingdom; moreover to prosecute with all their power vengeance and retribution against those who conspired and consented to the treacherous death of the good Duke of Burgundy; and for ever to keep by the party of the King of France and the Count of Charolois, only son and successor of the said Duke of Burgundy deceased; by whom they should be helped and assisted as they required. Thus, as you hear, the people of Paris made oath to the

A.D. 1419. Count of Saint Pol, and to confirm these promises they gave him letters sealed with the seals of the town and of the heads of the trade corporations; then they wrote letters to all the good towns in the kingdom which they knew held with the party of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy; and these all sealed like the Parisians the oaths and promises aforesaid.

On the other hand, the dauphin caused it to be published through all the large towns holding with his party that what he had done against the Duke of Burgundy was and had been on account of good and just quarrel; and set forth many reasons which had moved him to this, for his justification and exoneration, which things it would be long to explain.

Then the King of France, the Queen, and the counsellors, who were very sorry for this occurrence, in order to provide concerning it, sent royal proclamations to various places where the king was obeyed, mentioning the death of the Duke of Burgundy, and the disloyalty of those who conspired in it, commanding and forbidding the governors and defenders on pain of forfeiture in case of disobedience, that they should not give counsel, comfort, aid or favour to the dauphin, and those of his party; but should prepare themselves with all diligence to resist them, and seek after the restoration of the kingdom; and they should soon have good help.

How Duke Philip of Burgundy sent an embassy to the King of England, and how he exerted himself to avenge the death of the duke, his father. CHAPTER XXX.

DURING the days when the sad event of the Duke of Burgundy's death was mourned in many places, his

only son Philip, Count of Charolois, was in the town A.D. 1419.
of Ghent, whither the tidings were carried to him, which filled his heart with such sadness and displeasure that for some days he could not be pacified, nor did his guardians know by what means to comfort him. When the Lady Michelle of France, his wife, sister to the Duke of Touraine, the dauphin, the author of this desolation, heard the tidings, she was much troubled, and in great perplexity, fearing among other things that her dear lord and husband would on this account consider her less agreeable, and that she might be somewhat estranged from his love[1]; but this she had no reason to fear, for he was a prince so loving, gentle, virtuous, and wise that he never put on a worse countenance towards her, though certainly nothing could be in the case but that he should be much displeased.

Some days after the news came, Duke Philip, as is the custom of new princes to do, took possession of his towns and lands, making oath for them. Then he gathered the estates and councils to deliberate on his position, and this being done, he went to Malines, where he talked over his affairs with the Duke of Brabant, his cousin, John of Bavaria, his uncle, and his aunt, the Countess of Hainault; and from Hainault he proceeded to Lille, and from this day forward he subscribed himself Duke of Burgundy, taking all the titles which the duke, his father, had borne in his time.[2]

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[1] which was not the case, for within a short time after, through the exhortations and admonitions which his said governors addressed to him, he was well pleased with her, and shewed her as great signs of love as he had ever done before. After this Duke Philip held counsel with the people of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and generally of all the good towns of Flanders, making oath everywhere as is the rule for all new lords to do when they take possession of their lands and seignories. These things done Duke Philip went to Malines, H.

[2] which he much increased and augmented in his lifetime, as I shall tell in pursuing my matter, H.

A.D. 1419. To the said place, Lille, there came to the young Duke Philip, offering him service, many great lords who had formerly been servants to his late father. Some of these he retained for his household; and he promised to confer great benefits on the rest. On the other hand, there came also to Duke Philip Maitre Peter de Morviller, first president of the parliament at Paris, and plenty of other distinguished people, with whom and the members of his council he concluded to write to the people of the good towns who took part with the king, certain letters of advice, in which he prayed them very kindly that as they had held loyally to the side of the duke, his deceased father, they would hold to his, telling them that he would very shortly procure for them a truce with the King of England, and besides he gave them to understand that they were to send their deputies to him in the town of Arras on the 17th of October; and that those who were sent were to have power to agree to what he should request of them.

After these things, Duke Philip, through the mature deliberation of his council, in order to strengthen himself, and help his operations against his adversaries, sent ambassadors to the town of Rouen to the King of England, in order to procure a truce for a certain space of time throughout all the lands, towns, and fortresses then subject to the King of France, in which embassy there went the Bishop of Arras, the Lord of Tholongon, Sir Gilbert de Lannoy, and some others, who, when they came thither, found there the embassy of the dauphin, which had arrived before them, to obtain treaty and alliance with the King of England by offering him the lands of the Duke of Burgundy, and their assistance in conquering them, besides the Duchy of Normandy and all the lands which he had in Guienne. But when the King of England saw that an embassy from Burgundy had come, he dis-

missed the dauphinists, who went away very sorrowful A.D. 1419.
and confounded, that thus they had failed to succeed in their design. On the other hand, the embassy of Duke Philip negotiated in such wise with King Henry that they obtained a truce, in the hope of working further, and forming an alliance.

During this time the dauphinists and Burgundians in every direction began war again, more bitter and venomous than ever, in which the dauphinists took Crespy-en-Lannois and the castle of Clary, by means of which capture the town of Lan and the surrounding country were held in great subjection.

[1] During this time, in the month of December, there came to Abbeville, to Duke Philip of Burgundy, Sir John of Luxemburg, with many captains and great lords, besides the delegates of the good towns, who, as I have said above, had been sent for. These being all together were very affectionately requested by the president of Liege, at the command of Duke Philip, and specially the captains, that as they had served his late father, they would serve him in an expedition which he intended very soon to undertake for the great benefit of the King and kingdom of France; and likewise the people of the good towns were asked to promise to keep by his party, giving him support and assistance if he needed it, which requests were freely granted, as well by the lords as by the good towns.

This being done, the duke held a general council, at which there were present all the said lords and captains, and likewise the deputies of Paris who had been sent by the Count of Saint Pol, to know from the duke what it was his will and determination to do.

[1] On the eighteenth day of December there came, H.

A.D. 1419. After this council had been settled, they were told quite frankly that within a few days the duke would make a treaty and alliance with the King of England, by consent of the King of France; and that besides, with all his might, he would seek vengeance and satisfaction for the cruel and treacherous death of his father. These and other agreeable answers being received, and determinations taken, the Parisians, having taken leave, withdrew to Paris, to report their news, in order to reassure the common people of the city and others in the neighbourhood of the Isle of France, and to keep them obedient.

This done, Duke Philip again gathered together a number of distinguished lords, ecclesiastic as well as secular, of those most faithful to him; and with these he held several close consultations to learn how he should conduct himself and manage the important concerns which had devolved upon him, especially respecting his father's death. Upon these many opinions were expressed; but finally, by the verdict of the great majority, it was determined that with the consent of the King of France, he should ally himself with the King of England as soon as possible. Upon this, ambassadors were anew sent to Rouen, that is to say, the Bishop of Arras, Sir Athis de Brimeu, Sir Roland de Utequerque, and others, who having arrived there with their commission were graciously received by the King of England and the princes of his court; for he greatly desired to have alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, because he was certain that by his means better than any other he could obtain in marriage the Lady Catherine of France, his sister-in-law, who was very pleasing to him. Therefore, when the said ambassadors of the duke had explained the reasons and points of their mission the said king was well pleased with them and answer was made to them that within a short time he would send some of his

people to their lord the Duke Philip, who should be made aware of what it was his intention to do. After this answer of the king the said ambassadors took leave and returned to Arras to make their report. A.D. 1419.

About the ensuing St. Andrew's day the English came to the duke at the said town of Arras, that is to say, the Bishop of Rochester, the Earls of Warwick and Kent, and with them many other knights and esquires, to whom the duke gave a very honourable reception. And there the ambassadors of the said King of England exhibited certain articles containing the treaty which he wished to make with the King of France and the said Duke of Burgundy; on which there were delivered in like manner to the said English ambassadors certain other articles on the duke's side, in which his mind was in great part explained. Finally, the counsellors of the two parties communicated so much with each other, that they came in the end to an agreement, in case the King of France and his council should be satisfied.

During this time the King of France, the Queen, and Lady Catherine, their daughter, who were keeping their court at Troyes, in Champagne, were guided and counselled by several lords devoted to the Duke of Burgundy.

By the treaties thus begun it was settled that the followers of the two parties, that is of the French king and the Duke of Burgundy, which was the same thing, should not make war on the English, nor the English on them; but the truce was prolonged, and it was decided that the two embassies of England and Burgundy should go together to the said place of Troyes to the King of France, further to confirm the arrangements, in order to bring all to a good conclusion; and Duke Philip intended even to go in person.

A.D. 1420. In all these doings, Sir John de Harcourt showed himself every way favourable and on the side of the Duke of Burgundy; also he was among the first called to all the most private consultations; and such great honour and respect was shown him by the duke as to no other men of his court; and he loved him cordially, for since the death of Duke John, his father, he had made oath to serve him in all his affairs. At the same time Sir Jacques de Harcourt repaired, fortified, and supplied with appurtenances of war, food, and all necessaries the town and fortress of Le Crotoy, of which he had charge on behalf of the King of France. And on the other side Sir John of Luxemburg had a very large army; so he made vigorous war on the dauphinists and took several strongholds from them.

How the French, English, and Burgundians began to fight the dauphinists. CHAPTER XXXI.

FROM that time forward those who held by the party of the French king and the Duke of Burgundy began to visit, traffic, and hold intercourse with the English on the frontier of Normandy, as though peace had already been proclaimed.

During this time the Earls of Huntingdon and Cornwall, by command of the King of England, laid siege with three thousand men to the fortress of Fontaines-la-Vagant, which, during these dissensions, had always held by the Orleans party, and had never been subjugated; for which reason the lands of Beauvaisis, the marches of Normandy, Amiennois, and others in the neighbourhood had been greatly harassed for a

long time. However, at the end of three weeks or A.D. 1420
thereabouts, after the said siege was laid by the English, those who were within the fortress surrendered it to the assailants, on condition that they should go where they pleased, safe in their persons and property: but after their parley the place was destroyed and reduced to ruins.[1]

At this time Duke Philip of Burgundy collected a great army to take with him to the King of France at Troyes; and he appointed as his chancellor Sir John de Thoisi, Bishop of Tournay. On the Saturday after, Three Kings' day,[2] in the year above-named, truce was proclaimed between the Kings of France and England for all the countries subject to the king and the Duke of Burgundy from Paris to Boulogne, and Troyes, in Champagne, to last till the ensuing month of March, with the view of coming to a final peace between the two kings and kingdoms.

At this time the English, with a large force under the command of the Earls of Huntingdon and Cornwall, proceeded to the town and castle of Clermont and assailed it vigorously; but it was well defended by those within, and forasmuch as the English had some killed and wounded in the said assault, they burned the borough of St. Andrew, where there were some handsome houses and public buildings. Then they overran and foraged through the whole county, from which they carried off large booty to Normandy.

During the same time the Duke of Burgundy set out from Arras, where he left the duchess, his wife, and went to Bapaume, and from that to Peronne, to which place came most of his captains with whom and their followers he rode to St. Quentin, where he re-

[1] And during this time many other places were placed in subjection to the King of England, the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, H.

[2] The Epiphany, 6th January.

A.D. 1420. mained a certain time waiting for the rest. And there the ambassadors of the King of England came to him, all in arms, to the number of two hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers, of whom the principal were the Earls of Warwick and Kent, Lord de Ros, Marshal of England, and Sir Louis de Robersard, a native of Hainault, who came there all together to the duke to go with him to Troyes, in Champagne. There came also delegates from the town of Laon, who, with those of the town of St. Quentin, earnestly requested Duke Philip that he would besiege the town of Crespy-en-Lannois, occupied by the followers of the dauphin, who were wasting and destroying all the surrounding country.

The duke, desiring to please the people, in order to keep them attached to him, granted this request, so he left St. Quentin and went to lodge at Cressi-sur-Sere, sending Sir John of Luxembourg, accompanied by the brothers Hector and Philip de Saveuse with some other captains to lodge round the town of Crespy within which were fully five hundred warriors, of whom the chief were Pothon de Sainte-Treille, La Hire, Dandonnet, and other adventurers. These defended the town bravely, but at length they were so closely approached that several engines were set up before the gates and walls, where there were many grand assaults and skirmishes. So when the siege had continued fifteen days the besieged negotiated for departing safe in person and property from Crespy, which town they placed in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy;[1] and it was, by request of the people of

[1] and because it was his first expedition he showed great grace to all save some who owed allegiance to towns of the King of France who remained prisoners. So the dauphinists departed, having the safe-conduct of the said duke, but after their departure the said town was pillaged and stripped of everything portable, H.

Laon, denuded of gates and walls, therefore, proceeding from bad to worse, they remained in desolation and sadness, not without cause. A.D. 1420.

Of the Arrival of the Duke of Burgundy at Troyes, and of what the English did there. CHAPTER XXXII.

THE town of Crespy-en-Lannois having surrendered, as has been said, Duke Philip went to Laon, where he was honourably entertained by the burgesses and inhabitants of the town. And from that, with his army, in which he had six thousand good fighting men besides the English ambassadors, he proceeded to pass through Rheims and Chalons-en-Champagne, in which towns he was suitably received, and thence he rode in great order to Troyes. And there came to meet him many great lords of his own country of Burgundy and distinguished burgesses of the town of Troyes, who treated him with great respect, and in this manner on the 21st of March did Duke Philip enter the good town of Troyes, where the people cried "Noel!" for his joyful arrival. There was Duke Philip highly congratulated by the King of France, the queen, the Lady Catherine, their daughter, and generally by the whole court; and there were great consultations among them about the alliance with the King of France, which the King of England wished to have, who had sent the above-named ambassadors with full power to confirm the treaties on his behalf. Finally, after many conferences held with the said English lords, it was concluded and agreed through the influence of the Duke of Burgundy and those holding by his

A.D. 1420. party, that Charles, King of France, should give to Henry, King of England, his younger daughter Catherine in marriage, and should adopt him and his heirs as the true heirs of his kingdom generally after his death, excluding from the succession his own son, Charles, the dauphin and Duke of Touraine, and thus annulling the statute formerly made with great deliberation by the noble kings and peers of France, to wit, that the glorious kingdom of France should never devolve on or appertain to a woman. And even if it happened that the said King Henry should have no heir of this marriage, still he was, in virtue of this treaty and agreement, to remain heir of the crown of France, to the great prejudice of all the royal persons who in time to come could or ought to succeed to it in direct line.

All the things above mentioned were granted by King Charles, who for a long time had not been in his right mind, and so was willing to agree and negotiate in everything according to the opinion of his council, whether to his injury or otherwise.

These arrangements being made in the manner you have heard, the English ambassadors returned, avoiding the ambuscades of the dauphinists as best they could, and got on so well that they arrived without accident at Rouen, where they found the King of England, to whom they showed a copy of the treaty, which pleased him much and was very agreeable to him, seeing that by it he attained the leading object of his design; and therefore to settle as soon as possible his affairs in Normandy, he collected his men-at-arms to go to Troyes and confirm this treaty, and Sir Louis de Robessart remained at the court of the French king to take care of the Lady Catherine of France, the future wife of his lord the King of England.

During these occurrences Sir John of Luxemburg went against Alibaudières, where he took the bulwark,

but not without much previous fighting, after which exploit the said Sir John of Luxemburg withdrew to Troyes to Duke Philip of Burgundy, who was making preparation to receive King Henry of England. A.D. 1420.

How the dauphin sent large garrisons to all the good towns and castles attached to his party. CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHILE these alliances were forming to the great injury of the Duke of Touraine, the dauphin, he and his council[1] heard certain news of the said treaties, and were greatly concerned as to how they could resist the enterprises and endeavours of the two parties, to wit, the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, knowing that through the said alliances he was in danger of losing his sovereignty and the expectation which he had of the crown of France. Nevertheless, the said dauphin, being then at Bourges, in Berry, was advised to look after his own and defend himself to the best of his ability; so he supplied with armed men several towns and fortresses situated on the frontiers of his enemies, and appointed as captains all the most faithful of his partisans, among whom he placed the Lord of Barbasan at Melun, with a great following; at Monterau, the Lord of Guitry; at Montargis, Sir Robert de Loirre; at Meaux en Brie, Pieron de Lupel, Lord of Gamaches; and at Compiegne and other places in like manner; and besides he provided a great number of armed men to be always near his person, in expectation of what might happen to him from day to day.

[1] being at Bourges in Berri, H.

A.D. 1420. During that time that was reckoned as 1421, the Duke of Burgundy sent the Count of Conversan, Sir John of Luxemburg, his brother, the Lord of Croy, and others of his captains, to Alibaudières, before which there took place many fine skirmishes, and passages of arms, by the besieged as well as by the besiegers. Finally, by perseverance in cannonading and powerful assaults, those within were obliged to surrender, with only their lives, except that some succeeded in taking each a small horse. So they went away in this condition, and after their departure the property was pillaged and the place demolished. On leaving this place, one set of the men-at-arms withdrew to Troyes, to the Duke of Burgundy, the rest went to Picardy; and soon afterwards the said duke sent some of the captains who had remained with him to the country of Auxerre, to subdue to the Kings of France and England and himself several fortresses supporting the dauphin's people. These were taken by the said captains, among whom were the Lord of Lisle-Adam, Sir Anthony de Croy, Bauldet de Noyelles, Robert de Saveuse, Robert de Brimeu, the bastard of Thian, and some others. So they demolished several of the said forts, at which the dauphin and his helpers were greatly troubled, but then they could do nothing to mend it, so they had to suffer it.

Of the arrival of the King of England at Troyes, and of the marriage between him and Lady Catherine of France. CHAPTER XXXIV.

AT the time that was still reckoned 1420, King Henry of England set out from the town of Rouen to go to Troyes, having in his company the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his brothers, the Earls of Huntingdon, Warwick, and Kent, with several great noblemen of England, and fully 15,000 fighting men, of whom the greater part were archers. From Rouen he went to Pontoise, and from that to St. Denis; then crossed the bridge of Charenton, where he left some of his men to keep the passage; and thus by Prouvins he proceeded to Troyes. And in order to do him honour, the Duke of Burgundy and several other great lords went to meet him, and attended him to the house where he lodged within the town, and the princes with him; but his men-at-arms lodged in the neighbouring villages. Soon after the King of England had arrived at the said place of Troyes, he went to the King of France, the Queen, and Lady Catherine, their daughter; and they paid great honours to each other. And there was concluded the final peace between them, by means of the alliance above mentioned; for the points which before were not agreeable to King Henry were there all corrected according to his wish; and finally the future bride and bridegroom were affianced together, to wit, King Henry and Lady Catherine; and the day after Trinity Sunday they were married in the church of the parish within which the king lodged, at which nuptials the lords and ladies made great and pompous display, especially those on the English side; A.D. 1420.

A.D. 1420. so that the like had never been seen in France; such clothes, and valuable rings, and jewels, so the French and Burgundians marvelled greatly where such abundance of gold and precious stones could have been obtained.

But the Duke of Burgundy, by whom these alliances had been negotiated, made good amends on the French side, for he was on his side largely attended by nobility, such as the Count of Conversan, Sir John of Luxemburg, his brother, the Prince of Orange, the Lord of Jonvelles, the Lord of Chastel Villain, the Lord of Montagu, Sir Regnier Pot, the Lord of Chastelus, Le Veau de Bar, Sir Jacques de Courteauville, Sir John de Catebrune, Marshal of Burgundy; and from Picardy there were the Lord of Croy, the Lord of Humbercourt, the Lord of Longeval, Sir Athis de Brimeu, and Sir David, his brother; the Lord of Roubaix, Sir Hugh de Lannoy, Sir Gilbert, his brother, and many other knights and esquires of the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, with some prelates also and churchmen, among the eldest of whom was Maitre John de Thoisi, Bishop of Tournay and Chancellor of Burgundy, Maitre Eustace de Latre, Maitre John de Mailly, and others, who, as all together with their lord the duke, were consenting parties to the said treaties, and promised to keep them permanently. Of which [treaty] the following is a copy:—

"Charles, by the grace of God King of France, to "all our baillies, seneschals, provosts, and other heads "of our justice or their lieutenants, greeting! We "make known how by final agreement a perpetual "peace is this day made and sworn in this our town "of Troyes by us and our very dear and beloved "son, Henry, King of England, heir and Regent, for us "and himself, of France, the crowns of France and "England, as well by his union with our well-beloved "daughter, Catherine, as by several points and articles

" made, granted and passed by each party faithfully A.D. 1420.
" for the well-being and prosperity of ourselves and
" our subjects, and for the security of our dominions;
" by means of which peace everyone of our subjects
" and those of our said son shall henceforth be able to
" meet, traffic, and work with each other as well beyond
" sea as on this side.

" *Item*, it is agreed that our said son Henry shall
" in future honour us as his father, and our queen
" consort as his mother; and besides this he shall
" not hinder us from peaceably possessing and enjoying
" our kingdom during our lifetime.

" *Item*, that our said son, King Henry, shall not
" disturb or hinder us, as has been said, from main-
" taining and possessing the crown and royal dignity
" of France, with the revenue, fruits, and profits thereof
" for the maintenance of our court, and the expenses
" of the kingdom; or our consort from holding as
" long as she lives the estate and dignity of queen
" according to the custom of our said country, with
" part of the said revenues suitable for her.

" *Item*, it is also agreed that our said daughter
" Catherine shall have and take to the kingdom of Eng-
" land a dowry as queens have had and have been
" accustomed to have in time past, that is to say, for
" every year the sum of 40,000 crowns, two of which
" are worth an English noble.

" *Item*, it is agreed that, by all ways, means, and
" manners that he can, without transgressing or offend-
" ing against the oath he has taken to observe the
" laws, customs, and rights of his English kingdom,
" our said son, Henry, shall endeavour and provide
" that as soon as possible our said daughter, Catherine,
" his consort, shall be fully and distinctly assured of
" perceiving and having in his kingdom of England from
" the time of his death the dowry aforesaid of 40,000

A.D. 1420. " crowns, two of which are value for an English " noble.

" *Item,* it is agreed that if our said daughter should " survive our said son King Henry she shall have " and take from the kingdom of France the sum of " 20,000 francs a year for her right of dower, " beginning immediately after the death of our said " son, and this to be a charge upon the lands, places, " and lordships which were held and possessed in the " same form of dowry by our dear lady of blessed " memory, Blanche, formerly wife of King Philip, " our most dread lord and great grandfather.

" *Item,* it is agreed that immediately after our " death and thenceforward the crown of France, the " kingdom, and all the dependencies shall remain and " perpetually belong to our said son, King Henry, and " his heirs.

" *Item,* forasmuch as we are withheld and hindered " most of our time in such a way that we cannot " personally understand or attend to the disposal of the " business of our said kingdom, the faculty and exer- " cise of governing and ordering the general public " business of the said kingdom shall be vested in and " remain during our life with our said son, Henry, and " the council of wise and noble men of our said king- " dom; so that from this time forward he can rule " and govern this public state by himself and by any " other that he chooses to appoint with the council " of wise and noble men aforesaid. Which power of " governing being thus vested in our said son, King " Henry, he shall work lovingly and faithfully for what " may be for the glory of God, of us, and of our " country, and for the public good of the kingdom; " and to defend, tranquillise and pacify, or rule it " according to the requirement and equity of justice, " with the counsel and assistance of the lords, barons, " and nobles of the said kingdom.

"*Item*, that our said son shall do his utmost that A.D. 1420.
" in all and every place subject to us now and in
" time to come, the court of parliament of France shall
" be preserved and protected in the sovereignty and
" authority belonging to it and due to it in all and
" every place subject to us.

"*Item*, that our said son shall, as far as he can,
" defend all and every the peers, nobles, cities, com-
" munities, and individual persons subject to us, now
" and at all times to come, in the rights, customs,
" privileges, prerogatives, liberties, and franchises ap-
" pertaining or due to them, in all places subject to us
" now and in time to come.

"*Item*, that our said son shall diligently labour and
" do his utmost that justice be administered in the
" said kingdom according to the laws, rights, and
" customs of the same, without respect of persons,
" and shall preserve and keep the subjects of our
" kingdom in peace and tranquillity, and with his
" person guard and defend them from all oppression
" and violence whatever.

"*Item*, it is agreed that our said son, Henry, shall
" provide and do as he can, that to the offices of
" justice, whether of parliament or bailiwicks, sene-
" schalships, provostships, and others pertaining to the
" government of seignory, and also all other offices
" of the kingdom, there shall be chosen persons of
" talent, and favourable to the good, just, and peaceful
" government of our kingdom, and of the ministrations
" which are committed to them for the public benefit.

"*Item*, that our said son shall labour with all his
" might, and as soon as he shall be able advantageously,
" to subdue to our authority all the cities, towns,
" countries, castles, and persons within our kingdom,
" who are disobedient to us and rebellious, holding or
" being of the party commonly called that of the
" dauphin and of Armagnac.

A.D. 1420. "*Item*, in order that our said son may be able the "more profitably, safely, and freely to accomplish "and effect the things above mentioned and explained, "it is agreed that the great lords, barons, and nobles, "with the estates of the said kingdom, both spiritual "and temporal, also the cities and notable commu- "nities, and the citizens and burgesses of towns in "the said kingdom subject to us for the time, shall "take the oaths which follow. First, that they will "humbly obey our son, King Henry, having and exer- "cising the power of governing the public state, and "his commands and summonses, in all things pre- "serving the equity of the government of this our "kingdom.

"*Item*, that the said great lords, barons, and estates "of our kingdom, spiritual as well as temporal, and "also the cities, notable communities, citizens, burgesses "of towns in the said kingdom, in so far as they "and each of them are concerned, shall in everything "and everywhere well and faithfully conform to the "things which are and shall be appointed and agreed "between us, our consort the queen, and our son, "King Henry, with the council, which we, our "consort, and our said son shall have appointed "thereto; and they shall do their best that these "things be kept by all others whatever.

"*Item*, that continually from the time of our death "and afterwards they will be faithful men and lieges "of our son, King Henry, and his heirs, and they will "hold this our son for their sovereign liege lord and "the true King of France, and without any opposition, "contradiction, or difficulty will receive and obey him "as such; and that after these things they will never "obey any other than him as king and regent of the "kingdom of France; and if they know of any mis- "chief plotted against the person, honour, and welfare "of our said son they will prevent it to their power,

" and will make it known to him as quickly as they A.D. 1420.
" can by letters and messages.

" *Item*, it is agreed that all and every the conquests
" which shall be made by our said son, King Henry,
" outside the duchy of Normandy in the kingdom of
" France over those who are disobedient to us, shall
" be made for us and for our benefit; and that our
" said son shall endeavour that all and every the lands
" and lordships in places thus to be conquered, pertain-
" ing to persons now obedient to us who shall swear
" to observe this present agreement be restored to the
" said persons to whom they belong.

" *Item*, it is agreed that all and every the beneficed
" ecclesiastics in the duchy of Normandy, or other
" subject places whatever in the kingdom of France,
" being obedient to our said son and to us, and
" favouring the party of our very dear son the Duke
" of Burgundy, who shall swear to observe this present
" agreement, shall peaceably enjoy their ecclesiastical
" benefices in the duchy of Normandy and the places
" aforesaid.

" *Item*, that each and all of the ecclesiastical persons
" obeying our said son, King Henry, having benefices
" in the kingdom of France in places subject to us, and
" who shall swear to keep this present agreement, shall
" peacefully enjoy their benefices in the aforesaid
" places.

" *Item*, that such and all of the churches, univer-
" sities, general schools, colleges of learning, and
" other ecclesiastical colleges situated in places subject
" to us now or in time to come in the duchy of
" Normandy or other places in the kingdom of France,
" subject to our son, King Henry, shall enjoy their
" rights and possessions, rents, prerogatives, pre-emi-
" nences, and franchises, in whatever way belonging
" to them in the kingdom of France, saving the
" rights of the crown.

A.D. 1420. "*Item*, and when it shall come to pass that our said "son, King Henry, succeeds to the crown of France, "then the duchy of Normandy and likewise all and "each of the places conquered by him in the kingdom "of France, shall be under the jurisdiction, obedience, "and sovereignty of the crown of France.

"*Item*, it is agreed that our said son, King Henry, "shall to his power endeavour that to the persons "obedient to us, and favouring the aforesaid party "called the Burgundian, to whom belonged lordships, "lands, revenues, and possessions in the duchy of "Normandy and other parts of the kingdom of France, "but which have been conquered by this our son, "King Henry, and already by him given away, there "shall, without impairment of the realm of France, "be compensation made by us from the places and "lands acquired or to be acquired in our name from "those rebellious and disobedient to us; and if this "compensation is not made in our lifetime, it shall be "for our son, King Henry, to make it in lands and "goods when he shall succeed to the crown of France. "But if the lands, lordships, rents, and possessions "which belonged to the said persons in the duchy "and places above-named have not been given away "by our said son the said persons shall be reinstated "in them without delay or opposition.

"*Item*, and that during our life, in all places now or "in time to come to be subject to us, the forfeitures of "lands, gifts of offices, benefices, and other powers, "pardons, remissions, and privileges, shall be written or "issued under our seal. Nevertheless because some "peculiar cases might occur, which cannot all be forseen "by human skill, and in which it may be becoming and "necessary that our son, King Henry, should cause his "own letters to be written, in such cases, if any occur, "it shall be lawful for our said son, for the well being "and security of us and of the government belonging

" to him, as has been said above, and to avoid the A.D. 1420.
" dangers and mischiefs which might otherwise be likely
" to happen, to write to our subjects his own letters,
" by which he shall command, forbid, and summon on
" our behalf and on his own, as regent, according to
" the nature and quality of the business.

" *Item*, that during our life our said son King Henry
" shall not call or write himself, or cause himself to be
" called or written King of France, but shall entirely
" abstain from this title so long as we live.

" *Item*, it is agreed that during our life we shall
" name, call, and write of this our son in the French[1]
" language in this manner: 'Noster precarissimus
" 'filius Henricus Rex Anglie, heres Francie,' &c.

" *Item*, that our said son shall not impose, or cause
" to be imposed, any burdens or exactions on our
" subjects without reasonable or necessary cause, and
" for the public good of our kingdom of France,
" and according to the order and requirement of the
" laws and reasonable and approved customs of the
" kingdom.

" *Item*, and in order that peace and tranquillity
" may be perpetually preserved for the time to come
" between the two kingdoms of France and England,
" and to prevent the difficulties and renewals by
" which debate, dissension or discord might arise in
" future between the two kingdoms, which God for-
" bid, it is agreed that our said son shall endeavour
" by the exertion of his own power, the obstacles in
" this direction being removed, [to procure] that, by
" the advice of the three estates of the two kingdoms,
" it be ordered and provided that from the time
" that our son or any of his heirs shall succeed to
" the crown of France the two crowns of France and
" England shall for ever remain together without
" separation, and shall be vested in one and the same

[1] *sic.*

A.D. 1420. " person, that is to say, in the person of our said " son, Henry, King of England, so long as he lives, " and thenceforward in the person, of his heirs who " shall successively arise one after the other; and that " from the time that our said son or any of his " heirs shall come into the above-named kingdom, " the two kingdoms shall be governed undividedly " under different kings at one and the same time, " and under one and the same person who shall be " at the time king and sovereign lord of both king- " doms as is aforesaid, and saving always to each " kingdom all things in its rights, liberties, franchises, " usages, and laws, not subjecting in any way one of " the said kingdoms to the other.

" *Item*, that from now and for all time perpetually, " all divisions, rancours, wars, or questions between " the two kingdoms and their peoples adhering to the " said agreement shall be hushed and appeased and " in all points cease, and between the said two kingdoms " from henceforth for ever peace, tranquillity, affection, " mutual agreement, firm and stable friendship shall " be in force; and the two kingdoms shall help each " other with their aid, counsel, and mutual assistance, " against all persons that would endeavour to do " violence, wrong, or injury to them or either of " them; and they shall hold intercourse, and shall trade " with each other faithfully, paying the accustomed " dues.

" *Item*, that all the confederates and allies, of us " and of our kingdom of France, and also all the " allies of our son, King Henry, and of the kingdom " of England, who within eight months after this " present agreement of peace shall declare themselves " willing firmly to adhere to it, shall be included in " the treaty and the cordial peace and endless security " of the same, saving always to both kingdoms and " their subjects any actions, rights, and remedies " whatsoever proper in this behalf.

"*Item*, it is agreed that our said son, King Henry, A.D. 1420.
" with the advice of our very dear son, Philip Duke
" of Burgundy, and the other nobles of the kingdom
" of France to whom it shall belong to be called
" thereto, shall provide for the government of our
" person safely, befittingly, and decently, according to
" the requirements of our state and royal dignity, in
" such manner as shall be for the honour of us and
" also of the kingdom of France and the subjects
" thereof; and that all persons, as well nobles as
" others, who shall be about us for our personal and
" domestic service not only in offices but also in
" other callings, shall be such as shall have been born
" in the kingdom of France, or in places where the
" French language is spoken, good persons, wise,
" loyal, and fit for the said service.

"*Item*, that we will remain and reside personally
" in some of the principal places subject to us and
" not elsewhere.

"*Item*, considering the horrible and enormous crimes
" and misdeeds perpetrated in our kingdom of France
" by Charles calling himself dauphin of Viennois it is
" agreed that we, our son, King Henry, and also our
" very dear son, Philip Duke of Burgundy, will not
" in any way treat for peace or agreement with the
" said Charles or cause him to be treated with unless
" by consent of all and every of us and of the three
" estates of the said kingdoms.

"*Item*, it is agreed that besides our letters patent
" concerning the things above set forth, and each of
" them, we shall give and cause to be given to our son,
" King Henry, letters patent of approbation and
" confirmation from our consort the queen, our son the
" Duke of Burgundy, and others of our royal blood,
" from cities, barons, lords, and towns subject to us,
" from whom in this behalf our son, King Henry,
" may wish to have letters.

A.D. 1420. "*Item*, that in like manner our son, King Henry, "on his part, besides his letters patent for these "said things sealed with his great seal, shall cause "to be given and made for us letters patent also "of approbation and confirmation from his very dear "brothers, from the other great lords of his royal blood, "from the great cities, good towns, barons and lords "obeying him in his kingdom, of whom in this behalf "we desire to have letters from our son, the King "of England.

"All and every one of the things above written, "we, Charles, King of France, for ourselves and "our heirs in so far as it can effect them, without "fraud or evil design have promised and do promise, "have sworn and do swear on the word of a king, "and upon the holy gospels of God, personally touched "by us, to accomplish and observe, and make our "subjects accomplish and observe, and also that neither "we nor our heirs shall ever go contrary to the things "above-mentioned, or any of them in any manner or "fashion that may be, in judgment or out of judg-"ment, directly or indirectly, or by any manner of "excuse whatever. And in order that all these things, "and the articles above-mentioned, may be firm and "stable continually and for ever we have caused our "seal to be put to these presents, given in our town of "Troyes the 21st day of the month of May in the year "1420, and of our reign the forty-fifth[1]. Sealed at "Paris under our seal, ordained in the absence of "the great [seal]. Thus signed by King Charles and "his grand council."

Here ends the first book of this fifth volume.

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[1] *Sic. corr.* Fortieth.

HERE BEGINS THE SECOND BOOK, WHICH CONTAINS THIRTY CHAPTERS. IN THE FIRST IT TELLS HOW THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, AFTER HAVING MADE THE AGREEMENT, JOINED TOGETHER, AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY WITH THEM, AS WELL TO RE-CONQUER THE KINGDOM AS TO AVENGE THE DEATH OF DUKE JOHN. CHAPTER I.

AFTER all the treaties above explained had been thus made and finished between the Kings of France and England, the nuptials were solemnised, as has been said. Then the two kings departed, and the queens their wives, and Duke Philip of Burgundy, with all their troops, from the town and city of Troyes in Champagne and the surrounding parts; and they proceeded towards Sens in Burgundy, which the dauphinists were occupying, and they laid siege to it all round; but at the end of twelve days the people of Sens, having no hope of relief, surrendered the town to the authority of the King of France on condition that the men-at-arms who wished to depart might go safe in their persons and property, except those who might be found guilty of the death of Duke John of Burgundy, if any such there were, and the inhabitants of the town should be obliged to take oath to the King of France. But a great part of the men-at-arms within [the town] surrendered to the King of England and assumed the red cross feignedly, for notwithstanding this they soon returned to the dauphin. A.D. 1420.

After this town had been taken and placed under the authority of the king, and supplied with good men-at-arms to keep it in his name, the besiegers

A.D. 1420. departed thence, and went to Monterau-fault-Yonne; but before their departure Maitre Eustace de Lattre, Chancellor of France, who for a long time had been the principal counsellor of Duke John of Burgundy, died there; and in his place was appointed one named Maitre John le Clerc, president of parliament.

At the beginning of the ensuing month of June the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy, and their people laid siege quite round the town and castle of Monterau-fault-Yonne, where they remained a good while, battering and harassing it with the intention of beating it down and demolishing it. And there was within, as chief captain for the dauphin, the Lord of Guitry, accompanied by from four to five hundred good warriors, who bravely defended themselves against the assailants. So they killed and wounded some, among whom Sir Buthor, bastard of Croy, a very skilful knight in arms, was mortally wounded; but in the end their defence profited little, for on the next ensuing St. John Baptist's day some Englishmen and Burgundians without order or command from any prince bestirred themselves suddenly, and all together assailed the town in several places, and persevered till they entered within this town and routed the dauphinists, who fled and rushed impetuously into the castle, not without great loss, for they were so closely pursued, and so hurried, that many of them fell into the water, and were drowned; and there were taken sixteen or twenty, most of whom were gentlemen. Because of this capture, the besieged in the castle were in greater fear than before, for the King of England then made the greatest part of his troops lodge inside the town and before the bridge of the said castle.

Then the followers of Duke Philip of Burgundy by the help of some of the women of the town, proceeded to the spot where Duke John, his father, had been interred, and they quickly placed over his tomb one

of the richest curtains in the church, and lighted a wax taper at each end. And the next day Duke Philip, son of the said deceased John, sent several distinguished knights and esquires of his household to disinter him, and remove him from the ground. These, when they came to the place, exhumed him as they had been ordered; but truly it was a great pity to see him thus, as they had put him there in his doublet, his hose, and his cap; so that there was not one in the company so hard hearted that he could refrain from weeping. Nevertheless in this condition he was placed in a leaden coffin, filled with salt and spices, then was carried into Burgundy to a church of the Carthusian monks outside the town of Dijon, which had been formerly built and endowed by Duke Philip his father; and there he was very respectfully placed near him by order of Duke Philip, his son. And in that grave from which Duke John was removed Sir Buthor of Croy was placed, who had been killed at the assault of the town, as has been said. A.D. 1420.

During the siege of Monterau Charles, King of France, and his counsellors sent the above written treaty of peace to Paris, and throughout the districts of baillies, seneschals, provosts, and other places in his kingdom that acknowledged his authority, to be announced and published wherever it was usual to make proclamation in such cases.

After this capture of the town of Monterau the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy, and their followers turned out from the place where they had stayed, and by a bridge which had been newly made over the river Seine went to lodge between the two rivers Seine and Yonne. Then on all sides of the fortress they caused to be brought near and erected engines to undermine and overthrow it. Besides the King of England sent, under good security, the prisoners

A.D. 1420. who had been taken at the capture of the town, to parley on the moats with those in the fortress, in order that they might be willing to surrender to the king. These having come there, knelt humbly before their said captain, meekly praying him to make surrender of the place to the King of England, saying that by this means he would save their lives, seeing that he knew well enough he could not long hold out against the great force which he saw before him. To which it was answered that they would do the best they could, and that they would not surrender the place. Then the prisoners, very disconsolate, not having any hope of their lives, called upon the others to speak to their wives and near relatives inside; these were brought to speak to them, and then with much weeping and sadness they took leave of each other, then they were led back to the camp, where King Henry ordered a gibbet to be erected, on which the said prisoners were hanged in sight of the people in the castle. And with them the King hanged his groom, who had always been near his bridle when he rode, and whom he loved much; but the reason for putting him to death was because the said groom in a sudden ebullition of anger had killed an English knight; so he was thus punished for it.

After these things those in the said castle held out about eight days, at the end of which they made terms with the King of England to surrender the place to him on condition that they should go away safe in their persons and goods, except those, if there were any such, that should be found guilty of the death of Duke John, and who were to be yielded to the will of the King of England; thus they departed under safe conduct.

The Lord of Guitry, their captain, was greatly blamed about this surrender; because when he was not going to hold out much longer he allowed his people to die

ignominiously; besides it was imputed to him that he A.D. 1420.
was guilty of the death of Duke John of Burgundy, and to maintain this there offered to fight with him a young gentleman of the household of Duke Philip, his son, named Sir William de Bievres; but, finally, the said Guitry so exculpated himself that there was no further proceeding, and he and his people went to the dauphin. The King of England immediately furnished the town and castle of Monterau with provisions and appurtenances of war, leaving there a large garrison of pure English; there he got all necessaries prepared for going to besiege Melun. While these things were taking place the King of France, the queen his wife, and the Queen of England their daughter, remained at Bray-sur-Seine, with their whole court.

In those days Villeneuve-le-roy, situated on the river Yonne, was taken by assault by some of the Duke of Burgundy's people, at which capture many dauphinists who were there were slain. At the same time the Duke of Bedford came to join the King of England with eight hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. He was gladly welcomed by the king, the Duke of Burgundy, and all the lords; and the army of the King of England was greatly reinforced by his coming.

At this time Charles de Valois, Duke of Touraine, dauphin of Viennois, passed with great difficulty through parts of Languedoc, and went to besiege the town of Pont Saint Esprit, on the Rhone, within which were the people of the Prince of Orange, holding with the Burgundy party; which town was given up to him with several other fortresses in the country of Languedoc, which had long kept on the side of Burgundy by means of the Prince of Orange. Within the places thus conquered, the dauphin placed plenty of men-at-arms to keep them; and this done, he returned to

A.D. 1420. Bourges in Berry and collected as many people as he could get to resist the attempts of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, who he knew were working, as has been told, to subjugate and recover the towns and countries which held out for him.

Of a great army which was raised in Bohemia against the people of Prague, who were then called Hussites. CHAPTER II.

AT the same time that these things were doing among the parties in France a crusade was ordered by our holy father the Pope against the people of Prague. Besides many German princes, the leaders of this expedition were the Bishop of Cologne, the Archbishop of Treves, the Bishop of Liège, the Bishop of Mayence, Louis Duke in Bavaria, Duke of Heidelberg,[1] the Marquis of Nuisse,[2] and others, dukes, counts, and marquises, being forty-two in all. And I, the author of this work, was in this army with the Savoyards, of whom the chief was the Lord of Aix, and with him the Lord of Varenbon, the Lord of Gralee, Peter de Menton, Sir Ame de Challan, John de Compois, and several others. Under, and in the company of, the Duke of Heidelberg we proceeded through Nuremberg and Eger, which is the first town in Bohemia, and there we found a great number of princes waiting; then we crossed the forest, and the whole force entered the level country of Bohemia, which is very beautiful, and abundant in all good things, full of towns, villages,

[1] The person thus designated, who is called by Monstrelet Count Louis of the Rhine, seems to be Louis, Duke of Ingoldstadt, who revolted against Ernest Duke of Bavaria.

[2] Mdlle. Dupont identifies this person with Frederick Marquis of Misnia.

and castles; and all was given to destruction by fire A.D. 1420.
and sword, men, women, and children, without any mercy; and in truth, as several distinguished persons related, and also according to what I could see and suppose, when we came into a great plain near the town of Souch[1] to which they laid siege, the strength of the cavalry was estimated at 150,000 persons, besides the infantry, waggoners, merchants, suttlers, artisans, and workmen, who were estimated at fully 60,000; which armed force sat about a month before the said town. But envy and covetousness began to arise among the princes, wherefore this fine army broke up suddenly without effecting much. Also the night before the departure, there came tidings to the camp on behalf of the emperor who admonished the princes that it was not his pleasure that they had come there, and that they should proceed no further, nor go on with this expedition; and it appeared to him they had done very wrong, seeing they knew very well how the kingdom of Angle or Bohemia was his. For this reason they were all the more ready to depart, so much so that to see them set out from their camp it seemed as if they were pursued by their enemies. In this army was the Cardinal of England, who seeing the confusion, said in great displeasure that if he had had six thousand English archers that day he would quite easily have beaten all the troops that were there; and he said truly, for no one waited for another, and it was a wonder that no disaster happened to them, as it would have done if their enemies had been people of any enterprise. Thus, as you hear, this great army separated without effecting any thing; which matters I must leave to return to my subject.

[1] ? Saatz.

How the Kings of France and England and the Duke of Burgundy besieged the good town of Melun. CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1420. NOW it is time to return to the Kings of France and England, and Duke Philip of Burgundy, who, after the conquest of Monterau drew their army towards Melun, held by the dauphin's people. This town was entirely surrounded; for King Henry with his brothers, the red Duke of Bavaria his brother-in-law, and some other princes had their quarters on the side towards Le Gatinois, and the Duke of Burgundy with his people, and with the Earl of Huntingdon and some other English captains had theirs on the side towards Brye; and King Charles of France, and the two queens, went to keep their court all together at Corbeil.

These besieging princes directed all their designs and endeavours to get near and come into conflict with their enemies, and then in order to distress them they erected several engines, bombards, and other instruments to break down the said town, within which the principal captain was the Lord of Barbasan, a noble knight, very expert and renowned in arms; with him were the Lord of Preaux, Sir Peter de Bourbon, and a valiant freebooter. These had in their company from five to eight hundred fighting men, who by their courage displayed to their enemies the appearance of great hardihood in valiantly defending themselves against their undertakings and assaults. Nevertheless, their fortifications were in several places round the town approached as far as the moats, as well by mines, as by bulwarks and otherwise; even on the side where the Duke of Burgundy was a very strong bul-

wark was taken by sudden assault, one which the A.D. 1420.
said besieged had constructed outside the moats, and by which they annoyed and greatly troubled the besiegers; and after which capture the people of Duke Philip fortified it, and held it all through the remainder of the siege, keeping watch in it night and day. Moreover there was made a bridge of boats over the Seine, by which the two armies could go and come openly to each other; and besides, the king got his camp enclosed all round with good ditches, furnished with fences and stakes, so that he should not be surprised by his enemies; but in some places, leaving necessary openings which were shut with good barriers, and were watched night and day. Likewise it was done on the side of the Duke of Burgundy, and of the other English.

In this condition the said siege continued for the space of eighteen weeks, during which time some sallies and skirmishes were achieved by the besieged, but not on a great scale; however, one very valiant English captain, named Philip Lys, was killed by a bow shot, also a notable gentleman of the country of Burgundy, called Emart de Vyanne, with several others. And as the besiegers were ingenious in distressing their enemies, so the besieged in like manner defended themselves with great vigour, and as fast as their walls were broken down by the engines of their adversaries, they strengthened them with hogsheads full of earth, straw, wool, and other sufficient matters. On the side where the King of England encamped there was dug under the moats of the town a mine which penetrated nearly to the walls; but the besieged, suspecting this, countermined opposite to it, and used such diligence that it was broken open, and there were between the two parties great thrusts with short lances, and fine passes of arms. Then on the English side there was made a barrier within the said mine, in which the

A.D. 1420. King of England and the Duke of Burgundy fought with two dauphinists, thrusting lances against each other; and afterwards in succession several knights and esquires went to fight in the said mine. Of these some gained knighthood there, to wit, of the household of the Duke of Burgundy, John de Hornes, Lord of Bausignies, Robert de Maumez, and others.

While this siege continued before Melun, the King of England sometimes went to Corbeil to see the queen, his wife, with whom were the Duchess of Clarence, and other English dames and damsels. After the said siege had been formed, as has been told, for a certain space of time, the King of France was brought to it, that with greater certainty the said besieged ones might be summoned to give up the town to the King of France, their natural and sovereign lord. To which they replied that to him in his separate capacity they would willingly make overtures, but saying that they would not obey the King of England, the ancient enemy of the kingdom of France. Nevertheless the King of France remained a good while at the camp, sleeping in its tents under the governance of his son-in-law, the King of England, not with such state and attendance as he had formerly been seen with; for in comparison with time past there was little to see about him. And the King of England had his wife, the queen, brought to this same siege, grandly attended by dames and damsels, and she sojourned there about a month, lodged in a house which the king, her husband, had got made for her quite conveniently near his tents, which were far from the town, in order that they might not be troubled with arrows. And there, before the said king's tent six or eight English clarions and divers other instruments played melodiously for a good hour at sunset and at the

daybreak. And in truth this King of England[1] triumphed grandly during his reign, and was implicity obeyed and well served by his subjects, for he took a great deal of trouble during his life to accomplish his enterprise of conquering the kingdom of France, for which the English valued and loved him greatly. A.D. 1420.

At this time Peter of Luxemburg, Count of Conversan and Brienne, returning from the said siege of Melun to go to his lands, accompanied by about forty men, was met by the dauphinists, who stayed at Meaux-en-Brie, to wit, Peter de Lupel and others, who took him prisoner, himself and all his people. So they brought him to the said place of Meaux, where he was detained whilst the King of England besieged the town, as you shall hereafter hear.

During this season also, the Queen of Sicily, wife of King Louis of happy memory, but then a widow, gave her eldest son leave to go to Rome, in order that he might be crowned king by the hand of our holy father the Pope; and she committed him to the loyalty of the Florentines and Genoese who where at anchor with fifteen well armed galleys at the port of Marseilles, in the territory of the said queen; but she detained with herself as hostages for the safety of her son eight of the most distinguished barons of the Kingdom of Naples and the surrounding countries, who had come there to seek him on behalf of the cities, good towns, and great lords of the country. And this they did through the hatred which they bore to their own queen wife of Sir James de Bourbon, Count of la Marche, who was then keeping her husband a prisoner on account of a quarrel she had

[1] Was there more grandly attended at this siege than he had ever been at any other during his reign, and besides in his own person used marvellous diligence to accomplish his enterprise.

Whilst these things were going on Peter of Luxemburg, &c. H.

A.D. 1420. had with him and his guardians. So the said Louis, sailing in the said galleys, entered Rome, where he solemnly received his kingdom by the hands of our holy father the Pope; and he was from that day forward called King Louis, as had been his late father, of him we will say no more for the present.

Here is made mention of several places which surrendered during the siege of Melun to the Kings of France and England, and of the arrival of the King of Scotland. CHAPTER IV.

AT this same time, the siege continuing before Melun, the King of Scotland was brought from England to France to King Henry, where he was honourably received by the two Kings of France and England and the Duke of Burgundy. This King of Scotland, of whom we make mention at present, was a prisoner of King Henry; and the manner of his capture I will tell you, as I have been since informed by two distinguished knights, natives of the kingdom of England, who related to me that King David of Scotland had a son called James, who greatly desired to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was advised that to accomplish this in safety he would require a safe conduct from King Henry. This he obtained for himself and a score of gentlemen; then made his preparations, and took leave of the king, his father. So he came into England, where he was honourably entertained and grandly received by the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, and by the other great lords and ladies. Now it came to pass that while he was still sojourning there, he was informed of a sore disease

that had seized the king, his father, and of which he died; and for this he was greatly afflicted, when he knew the truth of it through the princes and great lords of the kingdom of Scotland, who announced it to him as the only son and heir to the crown, intimating to him that he should come back and take possession of his territories and lordships. The Duke of Gloucester, being informed of the Scotch king's death, made it known without delay to King Henry, his brother, who sent him word to detain the said James taking his parole, and to send him to the town of Melun where he was staying; saying that he had not given safe conduct to the King of Scotland, but to the son of the King of Scotland; and that from that time he was held to be King of Scotland through the death of King David, his father. In short, he was made a prisoner, and was sent to King Henry at the siege before Melun. A.D. 1420.

During this siege there were placed in the hands of the King of England by order of the French King, and by consent of the Duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, the places hereafter specified, that is to say, the bastille of St. Anthony, the Louvre, the house of Nelle, and the wood of Vincennes. The Duke of Clarence was appointed captain of Paris by the king, his brother, for the Count de Saint Pol was commissioned and sent into Picardy by the King of France, attended by Maitre Peter de Marigny and several others, to receive the oaths of the three estates and good towns of that country, to the effect that they would entirely keep and fully observe all the points of the peace lately made at Troyes between the two kings, and in future they would freely obey the King of England as regent and heir of the kingdom of France, and the said commissioners were to take letters of the oaths sealed and signed by the aforesaid three estates and good towns, of which letters, and

A.D. 1420. the power given to the commissioners by the King of France, the following is a copy :—

" Charles, by the grace of God King of France, " to our very dear and beloved cousins the Count of " St. Pol, the Bishop of Terouanne, and John of Luxem- " bourg, and to our very dear and well-beloved the " Bishop of Arras, the vidame of Amiens, the Lord of " Viesville, the governors of Arras and Lille, Maitre " Peter de Marigny our advocate in parliament, and " Maitre Peter de Stendre our secretary, greeting and " love. Whereas we have lately made a final peace " for the very great good and manifest advantage of " ourselves and the whole public affairs of our " kingdom, and this by the advice and deliberation " of our very dear consort the queen, of our very " dear and beloved son the Duke of Burgundy, of " the prelates and all other ecclesiastics, and of the " nobles and communities of our said kingdom, between " [us and] our very dear son the King of England, " regent and heir of France, for us and for the king- " doms of France and England ; and this peace we, " our consort, our son of Burgundy, the nobles, barons, " and counts aforesaid, have solemnly sworn. And " further, we have determined and appointed that all " the prelates and clergy, the nobles, princes, barons, " and corporations of our said kingdom who have not " sworn it shall swear it in like manner ; and therefore " we, confiding in the loyalty, prudence, and diligence " of you and every of you, direct and command you, " committing it to you by these present letters, that you " betake yourselves to all the cities, good towns, fortresses, " and notable places in the bailiwicks of Amiens, Lille, " Tournai, Douai, Arras, in the county of Poitou, the " jurisdiction and boundaries of these countries and all " the environs, and there summon those that it seems " good to you from the said places, and make them " come before you for and in our name, that is to say,

" prelates, captains, deans, and other superior clergy, A.D. 1420.
" burgesses and corporations, and in their presence cause
" the said letter of peace to be read and solemnly
" published, giving them on our behalf express and special
" command, under pain of being considered rebellious
" and disobedient to us, that in your presence they
" swear on the holy gospels of God, firmly to hold, and
" inviolably to keep the said peace, as contained in the
" form which follows :—

" *First*, you shall swear that to the most high and
" mighty Prince Henry, King of England, as governor
" and regent of the public state and kingdom of France,
" you will yield obedience loyally and diligently to his
" directions and commands in all things, preserving and
" keeping the rule and government of the said kingdom
" and the public state now subject to the most high
" and mighty Prince Charles, King of France, our
" sovereign lord.

" *Item*, that immediately after the decease of our
" said lord, King Charles, you will be loyal men, liege
" and true subjects to the aforesaid most high and
" mighty Prince Henry, King of England, and his
" heirs, and will honour and receive him without any
" opposition, gainsaying, or difficulty, as your sovereign
" lord and the true King of France, and will obey him
" as such, and you promise that from this time and for
" ever you will obey no other as King of France,
" except our sovereign lord King Charles during his life.

" *Item*, that you will not be in aid, counsel, or
" agreement, whereby the said King of England may
" lose life or limb, or be taken by any capture, or suffer
" damage or loss whatsoever in his person, estate, or
" welfare whatever; but if you know or are acquainted
" with any thing devised against him, you will frustrate
" it as far as you can, and will let him know of it by
" messengers or letters. And in general you will swear
" that you will keep and observe without fraud,

A.D. 1420. " deception, or evil design all the points and articles " contained in the letters and agreements of the said final " peace made and sworn between King Charles our " sovereign lord and the aforesaid King Henry, and " you will not go against it either in judgment or out " of judgment, publicly or secretly, through any pretence " that may be, or may occur, but by all possible means " whatever, as well of fact as of right, you will resist " all those who shall come or attempt, or shall try to " come or attempt, against the articles aforesaid. " Which oaths we will, command, and enjoin on all " our vassals of whatever condition and dignity or " authority, that they swear to the said peace, hold it " and keep it without infringing it; and that to you " and your commissioners or deputies they give letters " patent of this, to wit, of the said oaths which they " have made, which we will to be brought to us by " you. And also we will that letters from you " certifying you to have received the said oaths be " given to those who have done this, if it is your " business, and you are requested to do this.

" Giving power, authority, and special commandment " to you above named, or to any nine, eight, seven, six, " five, four, or three of you, directing and commanding " all our justices, officers, and subjects that they diligently " obey you and your commissioners and deputies in " this respect, lending you counsel, comfort, and " assistance if it is their business, and they are so re- " quired. And because it will be necessary to give " out and publish these present letters in several " places we will that full credit may be attached to " a *vidimus* hereof made under the royal seal like " the original.

" Given at our camp before Melun the 23rd day of " July, in the year 1420, and the 40th of our reign."

With all which instructions Philip, Count of Saint Pol, and the other deputies and commissioners for

putting this in execution, set out from the city of Paris and proceeded by some days' journey to Amiens, avoiding the ambuscades of the dauphinists, at which place of Amiens they were kindly received, and after they had shown their authority to its governors and inhabitants they took oaths from them; then they went to Abbeville, Saint Riquier, Boulogne, Montreuil, Hedin, Saint Omer, and other places, where they were everywhere obeyed, and they put in due execution the charge which they had received. A.D. 1420.

In this year, during the siege of Melun, many incursions were made which it would take long to relate, for so many troubles were then throughout the kingdom of France that it was sad to be therein.

During this same time Philip, Count of Vertus, second brother of Charles, Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, also of the Count of Angoulème, died in the town of Blois. This Count of Vertus governed all the above-named lordships, and through his death the Duke of Touraine, the Dauphin, was greatly weakened as to help and counsel, so were his two brothers who were prisoners, and who were very sad at heart for his death, as was right, and they had much cause, for in their absence he had, while he lived, governed their dependencies and lordships very honourably, wisely, and faithfully.

How the town and castle of Melun were given up to the authority of the Kings of England and France; and of other matters. CHAPTER V.

Now it is time to return to the state of the siege of Melun, which was maintained as you have heard by the Kings of France and England and Duke Philip

A.D. 1420. of Burgundy. During this siege the Lord of Lisle-Adam who was still marshal of France, was sent to Joigny in garrison with a great number of good men-at-arms, there to hold the frontier against the dauphinists, who were treating the surrounding country very severely. This Lord of Lisle-Adam having stayed awhile at the said place of Joigny, and there appointed and settled his men, returned to the said siege of Melun, and he had got made a grey linen gown, in which he went to the King of England about some things touching his office. And he being come before the king, and having made his reverence as was meet, and spoken some words about his business, King Henry asked him in a bantering manner, "How, Lisle-Adam,is this which you "wear the costume of a marshal of France?" To which he replied, looking the king boldly in the face, "Sire, I put it on to come in the boat across the "river Seine." Then the king said to him again, "How dare you thus look a prince in the face when "you speak to him?" But the Lord of Lisle-Adam replied, "Sire, it is the custom of France that if one "man speaks to another, of whatever rank, condition, "or authority, with downcast look, he is reputed for "a wicked and faithless man, because he dare not "look him to whom he speaks in the face." Then the king answered him, "It is not our way." After these words and some others, the Lord of Lisle-Adam took leave of the king, for he perceived that he was not much in his favour, as appeared clearly when pretty soon afterwards the office of marshal of France was taken from him, and afterwards there happened to him still worse misfortune, for the said king had him detained as a prisoner, as you shall hear further on.

Moreover during this siege disease broke out in the camp, very contagious indeed, and of this a great number of men died, and many went away to avoid the

danger, amongst whom there went from the Duke of Burgundy's division the Prince of Orange and several valiant captains. Seeing himself greatly weakened by this defection, the duke sent in haste to Sir John of Luxembourg, then captain of Picardy for the King of France, desiring him to come to the siege of Melun with as large a number as he could bring of men-at-arms. Then the said Luxembourg, following the instructions of Duke Philip of Burgundy, made diligent preparation, and had his muster round Peronne; and when his people were gathered he set out from that, then crossing the bridge of Saint Maxence he rode towards the aforesaid camp. When he was approaching Melun he placed his men in order of battle, and the besieged thought that help was coming to them, wherefore they began immediately to ring their bells and mount their walls, crying aloud to those in the camp to saddle their horses, for they would be dislodged; but soon they perceived that it was their enemies, wherefore, with drooping heads, putting a stop to all rejoicing, they came down from the battlements, and from this day forth had no hope of assistance from the dauphin, on whom they depended. Then Sir John of Luxembourg was sent with his people to lodge at Brie-comte-Robert, where he remained till the surrender of the said Melun. A.D. 1420.

At this time the King of France sent letters to several good towns of the kingdom, requiring especially that each of them should send certain deputies on their behalf to him at Paris, to be there on the fourth of January, in order to deliberate and take counsel with the nobles and ecclesiastics on the improvements and concerns of the whole kingdom.

When the besieged within Melun perceived the great danger they were in they despaired of any help, for already they had sent several times to the dauphin, announcing to him the intolerable pestilence to which

A.D. 1420. they were reduced by famine, and [how they were] obliged to eat horses and other various meats not fit for the use of human beings, earnestly begging him to relieve them as he had promised, and deliver them from these perils, in which they were placed only for trying to obey him and uphold his quarrel. To which it had been finally answered by the governors of the said dauphin, that at present he had no force great enough to deliver them from the power of his enemies, the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, and that they must do with them as best they could. On which reply they began to parley and negotiate with the delegates to whom the King of England had committed this matter, among whom were the Earls of Warwick and Cornwall, and some other great lords, who at last, after the said siege had lasted eighteen weeks, to the great trouble and distress of the besieged, came to agreement on the conditions hereafter declared.

First, it was ordered that the said besieged should give up the castle and town of Melun truly and in fact to the Kings of France and England, and should place themselves generally, men-at-arms, burgesses, inhabitants, and all persons whatsoever in the said town and castle of Melun at the mercy of the said kings.

Item, that these kings should receive them on condition that if there were any of them found guilty of the death of Duke John of Burgundy, justice and right should be done to them.

Item, that all the rest who shall not be in any way inculpated in this, whatever be their rank or condition, shall be in no fear of death, but shall remain prisoners till they shall have given good security that they will never arm themselves against the said two kings.

Item, that those suspected of the said Duke John's death, if they were not proved guilty or consenting shall remain on the above-named conditions; and those

who shall be natives of and subject to the kingdom of France, shall be reinstated in the lands which they held when the siege was laid before Melun, after they have given sufficient security as has been said. A.D. 1420.

Item, all the burgesses and inhabitants shall remain at the disposal of the two kings.

Item, that all the above-mentioned whether burgesses or men-at-arms, shall place or cause to be placed all their arms and implements of war within the castle of Melun in a place that may be known, and without injuring or destroying them, and likewise they shall place there all their movable goods.

Item, they shall give up, or cause to be given up all persons whom they hold prisoners by reason of the war, shall release them from their promises and ransoms; and likewise shall acquit all those that they received on their word or otherwise before the siege was begun.

Item, for the securing the things above mentioned they shall deliver as hostages twelve of the most notable men after the captains, and six burgesses of the town.

Item, that Sir Fortin, an English or Scotch knight, shall remain at the pleasure of the King of England.

This treaty being thus agreed on and completed between the parties, as you have heard, the gates of the said town and castle were opened, and all placed in the power of the two kings of France and England; and one Peter le Verrart[1] was appointed captain on their behalf. After the accomplishment of this business, all the dauphinist men-at-arms, of whom the principal were Sir Peter de Bourbon, Lord of Preaulx, and the Lord of Barbasan, with them five or six hundred gentlemen, women, and a great part of the most notable of the said town, were by command

[1] *Barart*, H.

TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

A.D. 1420. of the King of England, regent of France, taken by a force of armed men to Paris, and there imprisoned in the Chatelet, in the Maison du Temple, in the Bastille, and elsewhere.

Item it was forbidden on the part of the two kings that any one should enter the said town and castle of Melun, on pain of capital punishment, except those who were appointed thereto.

Item, among those who were beheaded within the said town were two monks of Joy-en-Brie, that is to say, the chancellor of the said place and one called Dom Symon. And while these treaties were making there was a gentleman named Bertram de Caumont, who at the battle of Agincourt, his true birthplace being France, had professed to be English, forasmuch as in the duchy of Guienne he held his land under the King of England, who liked him much for his valour. He being ill-advised, through his covetousness of the reward he was to have for it helped to escape and withdraw from the said town of Melun one Aimeron de Lan, who had been, as it was said, guilty of the death of Duke John of Burgundy, which thing came clearly to the knowledge of the King of England, who was greatly troubled about it, so that for this misdeed he had Bertram's head be cut off soon afterwards, notwithstanding that his brother the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Burgundy entreated for his pardon; to whom he answered that they should say no more about it, and that he would not with his knowledge have a traitor in his camp; but while he did this justice for an example to others, he would have given fifty thousand crowns in gold that the said Bertram de Caumont had never been guilty of this crime or of disloyalty to him.

How the Kings and Queens of France and England with the Duke of Burgundy entered Paris with great solemnity. CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the affairs above mentioned had been concluded and finished in the manner you have heard, the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy dismissed some of their followers, then left Melun and took their way towards Corbeil, where were the King of France, the Queen his wife, and their daughter the Queen of England. These went all together from Corbeil to Paris, to wit, the two kings and queens, and Duke Philip of Burgundy, accompanied by the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Exeter, the Earls of Warwick, Huntingdon, Salisbury, and several other great lords. A great number of the burgesses of Paris went out to meet these kings and princes; the streets were tapestried and decorated, and there was great joy displayed at their entry, with cries of "Noel"! in all the quarters through which they passed. The two kings rode beside each other, very richly attired, the said King of France on the right hand side, and behind him the Dukes of Clarence and Bedford, brothers of the King of England, after whom came the English earls and other great lords. And on the other side of the street, on the left hand, also in front like the kings, was the Duke of Burgundy, dressed in black, and behind him the knights and esquires of his household. A.D. 1420.

Thus all the princes and lords, riding each in his order, met the church men and collegians drawn up in order of procession along the quarters where they were to pass. These presented the holy relics which they carried to the two kings to kiss,

A.D. 1420. and first to their natural lord the King of France, who turned to the King of England, making a sign to him to kiss first, but the King of England raising his hand to his hat made obeisance to the King of France, saying that it belonged to himself; and thus the King of France kissed first, and the King of England, afterwards, which form they continued through the whole length of the town to the Church of Notre Dame, into which the two kings and the above named princes entered, then after their prayers and offerings they remounted their horses, and went each to his quarters, that is to say, the King of France, with the Duke of Burgundy, to the Hotel de St. Pol, and the King of England with his two brothers to the Castle of the Louvre, and several of their followers in various places through the town; but most of the men-at-arms were lodged in the surrounding villages. And when the Duke of Burgundy had diligently and respectfully convoyed the two kings to their quarters he went to his Hotel d'Artois, which was prepared for him.

Next day the two queens of France and England entered the said town and city of Paris, and to meet them went the Duke of Burgundy, and several great Lords of England, also the burgesses of Paris, in the same order that they had observed the day before at their meeting with the kings, and the joy was renewed throughout the city at the arrival of the queens and princesses. If one were to speak of the gifts and presents made by the City of Paris to the aforesaid kings and queens, especially to the King of England and his wife, they would take too long to specify each by itself, for all liberality abounded. Wine even spouted from brass taps in all quarters of the town, and flowed through channels ingeniously formed, so that whoever chose might take some. Moreover throughout the town generally there was great rejoicing made

for the final peace between the two kings, more than one could easily tell. A.D. 1420.

Soon after the said royalty came to Paris a great complaint and outcry was made before the said kings by Duke Philip of Burgundy and his mother's attorney about the sad death of the late John, Duke of Burgundy. On account of which complaints and lamentations the King of France sat as judge in the Hotel de St. Pol in the lower hall, and near him, on the same bench, the King of England. Not far from the said King of France sat Maitre John le Cler, his Chancellor, and there was also Maitre Peter de Morvillers, first President of Parliament, and several other notable men of the council of the said King Charles. And on the other side towards the middle of the hall there sat on a bench the Duke of Burgundy, and with him as companions the Duke of Bedford, the Bishops of Tournay, Terouanne, Beauvais, and Amiens, Sir John of Luxembourg, and several other lords of his council. And Maitre John Rollin, advocate in Parliament, being there in this cause on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy and the Duchess his mother, requested audience from the two kings, as is the custom, to speak for them, having obtained which, he charged the felonious homicide committed and perpetrated on the person of the late John, Duke of Burgundy, recently killed, against Charles, styling himself Dauphin of Viennois, the Viscount of Nerbonne, the Lord of Barbasan, Tanneguy Du Chastel, William Bacheler,[1] John Louvet President of Provence, Sir Robert de Laire, Oliver Layet, and generally all that were guilty of the said homicide, against whom and each of them the said advocate moved that they should be placed in tumbrels, and drawn bareheaded through all the quarters of Paris, on three Saturdays or feast days, each holding a lighted taper in his hand, and

[1] Boutillier. H.

A.D. 1420. saying in a loud voice that they had killed the said Duke John wickedly and falsely, damnably and through envy, without any reasonable cause, and this being done they should be taken to the place where they perpetrated the said homicide, that is to say, to Monterau-faut-Yonne, and there should repeat the words and carry the tapers again in the same way as at Paris. Moreover that right on the spot where they slew him a church should be built, where twelve canons should be appointed and provided for, six chaplains and six clerks sufficiently salaried to celebrate divine service continually and daily, and that they should be provided with all ornaments and vestments, sanctified or consecrated, with a table, books, chalices, cloths, and all things whatever necessary and pertaining to such case, each of such canons to be assigned two hundred Parisian livres the chaplain a hundred, and the clerk or vicar fifty livres of the said money, at the expense of the said Dauphin and his accomplices, and also that the reason why this church and endowment were founded, should be inscribed on its portal in large letters cut in marble. And similarly that in each of the following towns there should be a church exactly like the aforesaid, that is to say, at Paris, Rouen, Ghent, Dijon, Saint Jago of Compostello,[1] and in Jerusalem, where our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and passion for human redemption.

After this proposal was finished by the said Rollin, Maitre Peter de Marigny, the king's advocate in parliament, pleading again for the continual sentence against the said homicides, followed up all the preceding. Further, Maitre John Larchier, a doctor in theology, appointed by the Rector General of the University of Paris, also spoke very well and with authority before the two kings, exhorting them

[1] H. adds here *at Rome*

to do justice in the punishment of those who were guilty of the said crime, and there he explained largely the ends and merits of true justice, exhorting, as has been said, in many ways and adjuring the said kings to listen to and graciously hear the prayers and requests of Duke Philip of Burgundy and his lady mother, in order that they might be pleased to give effect to them. A.D. 1420.

After these propositions it was answered on behalf of the King of France, by the mouth of his chancellor, that concerning those who had so cruelly and inhumanly murdered Duke John of Burgundy, at whom he was much displeased, and concerning the demands against them now made to him on behalf of the said Duke Philip and his lady mother, he would do upon them by the grace of God and the good counsel and aid of his son Henry, King of England, regent and heir of France, there present, due execution of justice in all the things said and proposed without fail. And this done, the two kings and all the lords withdrew each to his quarters.

Of the high and sumptuous state which the two kings held one Christmas Day, each in his Hotel at Paris, especially the King of England. CHAPTER VII.

WHILE the business above-mentioned was doing, the English of Gournay in Normandy, those of Neufchâtel, Vicourt, and others on the frontier, and with them Sir Manneroy de Saint Leger, who was staying at Creil, collected about five hundred fighting men, and made incursions into Brie and Gallois,[1] where they took several prisoners and gathered great spoil; but on their return they were met by the Lord of Gamaches,

[1] Gatinois. H. Valois. Monstrelet.

A.D. 1421. who was at Compiegne, and other dauphinists of the garrisons in the surrounding country, who recovered near Montpilloy what the English were loaded with; and they killed at least sixty, besides those they took prisoners, and the rest saved themselves by flight; at which encounter the said Lord of Gamaches behaved very bravely.

During this season a marriage was made between Réné of Anjou, brother to the King of Sicily, Marquis du Pont by gift of the cardinal his uncle, and the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Lorraine.

On the other hand Sir Jacques de Harcourt, who still pretended to hold with the Duke of Burgundy's party, kept up a large garrison at Le Crotoy, and made war vigorously by sea and land against the English, with which King Henry was not very well pleased. The associates of the said Sir Jacques in these doings were the Lord of Rambures, Sir Louis de Thienbronne, and his brother Guichart, Sir Cocquart de Cambrone, the two brothers De Herselane, the children of Caumont, and several other gentlemen and warriors of the country.

In those days there came to Paris several ambassadors and people commissioned by the three estates of the greater part of the kingdom of France, previously summoned, as we have said, with whom, and also in their absence many consultations were held about the government and the public good of the kingdom and at the end of these, the salt tax fourths and other subsidies were remitted except to the great people.

At the next Christmas festival, the two Kings of France and England held full court, and with great state, that is to say the King of France in the Hotel of St. Pol, and the King of England at the Louvre, which courts were very different from each other, for the King of France was very poorly attended

compared with the King of England, which grieved to the heart some Frenchmen who witnessed it, if they could have mended it. But when one has to speak of the style which the King of the English and the queen his wife displayed that day, one would not know well how to tell of the luxury, pomp, and richness of the vestments and dresses with which they were adorned, and similarly the princes, lords, barons, and knights of their courts; so the subjects of the kingdom of France came from all quarters in great humility to honour and exalt them. A.D. 1421.

And from this time the King of England began entirely to govern and administer the affairs of the French crown, and to appoint officers at his pleasure, dismissing those who had been put in long before and established by King Charles, and the deceased Duke of Burgundy, and the present one, for he appointed the Earl of Kent, named Omfreville, captain general of Melun, with a sufficient garrison of men-at-arms and archers, and the Earl of Huntingdon cousin-german of the king, he made captain of the wood of Vincennes, and also he appointed the Duke of Exeter with five hundred fighting men to live at Paris, about King Charles.

After the aforesaid appointments were made, and the solemnities of Christmas were over, the King and Queen of England, the Dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and others of the princes and great lords with him left Paris and went to Rouen, where anew he held great consultations upon the rule and government of the kingdom of France, and he sojourned there a certain space of time before crossing into England. And likewise Duke Philip, leaving the said place of Paris, went to Beauvais to the festival and installation of Master Pierre Cauchon, doctor of divinity, the new bishop of this town of Beauvais, and much inclined and affected towards the Burgundy party. This

A.D. 1421. festival being over the said Duke departed thence, and by way of Amiens and Dourlens went to Lille, and then to Ghent, where was his wife the Duchess Michelle, and at which place he remained about three weeks. And the red Duke of Bavaria, who had come with five hundred warriors to serve his brother-in-law, now returned in haste by way of Cambray into his country of Germany, because he had heard tidings that the Bohemians, instructed and taught by a clergyman of their country, who was a heretic, had been stirred up and stimulated by the poison of heresy, not only against our Catholic faith, but also against the Kings of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, and in great multitude were making cruel and deadly war against them.

How King Henry, the queen his wife, and the King of Scotland crossed over to England, where they were received with great honour and reverence.
CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER King Henry had settled his affairs at Rouen, and appointed his brother the Duke of Clarence, who was very prudent and famous in arms, to be in his stead captain general of the whole of Normandy, he departed thence. So he passed through Caux, having with him the queen his wife, the King of Scotland, and his brother the Duke of Bedford, with at least 6,000 fighting men, and they came by Poix to Amiens on the eve of St. Vincent's day. The king and his court were lodged in the house of Maitre Robert Le Josne, who had lately been appointed the new baillie of Amiens instead of the lord of Humbercourt. At this place the kings and the queen were honourably received and grandly entertained, also many presents were made to them, and then by Dourlens, Saint Pol,

and Terebave [1] they went to Calais, where they so- A.D. 1421.
journed some days, and afterwards crossed to Dover without any hindrance.

When King Henry of England arrived in his kingdom he was joyfully received by all, as was his right, and he immediately employed himself in getting his wife Lady Catherine of France crowned, and obeyed by all his subjects, which coronation took place in the royal City of London, the chief and principal of the whole kingdom of England; and there there appeared such pomp, luxury and merriment, that since the time of the noble warrior King Arthur of Britain, no Englishmen had ever seen such a fête in the said City of London or any where else.

This being over and finished, the king went through the cities and good towns of his kingdom in his own person, where he exhibited himself to the inhabitants as a discreet prince, and spoke eloquently of the good success which had happened to him in France through his great labours and difficulties, and of the work which still remained for him to do in the said kingdom of France, that is to say, to subjugate his adversary the Dauphin of Viennois, only son of King Charles and brother of the queen, who was opposing him, calling himself, to his prejudice, regent and heir of France, and was holding, occupying, and possessing deceitfully the greater part of the kingdom; King Henry adding that to make this conquest he required two things, that is to say, money and armed men, so he affectionately begged them to put him in funds. These requests made by him were liberally granted by all throughout the country, the cities, and large towns without meeting a single refusal; and certainly he collected in a short space of time such a treasure of gold, silver, and jewels that one could hardly count it up. And having done this he chose throughout his

[1] Terouanne. H.

A.D. 1421. kingdom a large body of the youth of the country, the strongest, the most skilful, and experienced in shooting and fighting, whom he formed into one army with his princes, knights, and esquires, so that in all he collected full 30,000 warriors to be led anew into France, to subdue his said adversary and enemy the dauphin. Then, in order to be more secure during his expedition, he made truces with the Welsh and Scotch, and consented to the liberation of the King of Scotland, whom he had held prisoner for a long time, as has been said above, on condition that he should take to wife his cousin-german, sister of the Earl of Somerset, and niece of the Cardinal of Winchester, who was the principal man in negotiating this marriage and liberation.

During the same time Lady Jacqueline of Hainault, Duchess of Brabant, who had been married against her will to the Duke of Brabant, by the countess her mother, who had made the treaty of marriage against her will as has been said, came to Valenciennes to the said countess her mother, and asked her leave to go to divert and amuse herself at the town of Bouchain; but when she got there she set out very early next morning and found in the fields the Lord of Estaillon a native of Hainault, and of old an Englishman in heart. With him she had before held consultation in the town of Valenciennes, and he had promised to go with her to England to King Henry, to obtain his assistance to effect a separation between her and her said husband the Duke of Brabant. For this reason when she had found the said Lord of Estaillon, who had about sixty[1] armed companions, she set out in his company, to go straight to Calais; and they rode this day to Houdain, and so persevered that she got to the King of England, who without fail received her, and treated her respectfully, promising to aid and support her generally in all her affairs.

[1] Seventy. H.

How the Dauphin was banished from France, and how the Lord of Lisle-Adam was imprisoned in the Bastille of St. Anthony at Paris. CHAPTER IX.

IN the year above named, before the King of England left Paris to cross the sea, the Duke of Touraine, the dauphin, was called and summoned to the marble table, and there were performed in this case all the becoming and accustomed solemnities against this dauphin and his accomplices for the villanous crime committed on the person of the late John, Duke of Burgundy. And because during the days he neither appeared nor sent, he was by the royal council and the parliament banished from the whole kingdom, and adjudged unworthy ever to succeed to any lordships present or future, and even of the succession and claim to the crown which he had and could demand, [and this] notwithstanding that he appeared the true heir thereof after the death of King Charles, his father, according to the ancient custom of the said noble kingdom; at which rejection and banishment many Parisians were very glad, for they greatly distrusted him. A.D. 1420.

At this time, for certain reasons which influenced him to do it, the Duke of Exeter, captain of Paris, made his Englishmen arrest the Lord of Lisle-Adam in this town. On account of which capture there assembled full a thousand men of the commonalty of Paris with the view of rescuing him from the hands of those who were taking him to the Bastille of St. Anthony; but promptly the Duke of Exeter with about six score fighting men, most of them archers, struck into them, and made the archers shoot; whereupon the common people, as much through fear of the arrows as of the

A.D. 1420. orders which the said duke gave them on behalf of the king, all retired into their houses, and the said Lord of Lisle-Adam was taken prisoner to the Bastille, where he remained during the life of King Henry of England, who would have put him to death had it not been for the request of the Duke of Burgundy.

Of the Battle of Beaujé in Anjou, where the English were routed and the Duke of Clarence slain; and how the Earl of Salisbury came up, and repulsed the Dauphinists. CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1421. AT the end of this year, just on Easter-day, the Duke of Clarence, who had been captain general of all Normandy after the departure of the king his brother, led his army into the country of Anjou, where the dauphinists had gathered in large numbers, that is to say, the Count of Bosqueaux, Constable of the Dauphin, the Lord of La Fayette, and many other captains, to fight with their enemies and conquer them if they could. Now it came to pass that on this very Easter-day the said Duke of Clarence heard certain tidings that the dauphinists were very near, in a town called Baujé, in the country of Anjou; wherefore immediately the said duke, who was greatly renowned and brave in arms, took part of his men without delay, and especially nearly all his captains, and with these he began briskly to attack his enemies, and to open a sharp and severe conflict, in which many were killed and wounded in a short space of time. Meanwhile the great mass of his army followed far off, with much difficulty and danger from the bad passage of a river which they had to cross. And on the other hand the

aforesaid dauphinists, who were prepared and warned of the approach of the said English, began to receive and fight them very sharply; and the English, who were not nearly so numerous as they, kept their ground vigorously, hoping to be supported by the troops who were coming after them in great force. But the said crossing, which was very difficult for them, retarded them so much that they could not come up soon enough; for the dauphinists, knowing that these English were coming in great force to assist the said Duke of Clarence, pushed forward to fight, and advanced marvellously to encounter the first arrived. So there began between them a sharp and severe engagement, in which many passes of arms took place; but, as the proverb says, that "might conquers," so it was then, for the French were two to one, wherefore it behoved the evil fortune of the hour to turn against the English, and the dauphinists gained this victory. The Duke of Clarence was killed on the spot, and with him the Earl of Kent, the Lord of Ros, and generally the flower of the said Duke of Clarence's esquires and knights, besides from two to three thousand common people. Also there were taken prisoners the Earls of Somerset, Huntingdon, and Le Perche, besides two hundred or thereabouts of their men. Of the dauphinists there were killed from a thousand to twelve hundred men, among whom was a very valiant knight called Charles Boutillier, and with him Sir John d'Yvorin, Garny de Fontaines, Sir John de Passeavant, Sir John de Bresle, Sir John Tostavant, and several other notable and valiant warriors, to the number aforesaid. And from that day forth this battle was called the battle of Baujé, for the splendid victory which the French obtained there. A.D. 1421.

When these tidings were spread through the kingdom of France, all the English who were scattered in it displayed great sorrow, especially for the death of

A.D. 1421. the handsome Duke of Clarence, for he was greatly liked among them for his great prudence and valour, and even by his enemies the French; for the kindness and humbleness that were in him constrained those who had heard it spoken of or had seen him to love him, and therefore throughout England and France he was greatly pitied and regretted. King Henry himself, to whom he was brother, was very sorrowful about the misfortune that had befallen him; and not without cause, for it was he in whom he had the greatest hope for the success of his undertaking.

The English, who, as you have heard above, came earnestly striving to assist the said Duke of Clarence, and of whom the chief was the Earl of Salisbury, drove at the first rush into the dauphinists with such vigour, that they made them fall back, and presently, seeing the force of the said Earl of Salisbury, they departed from the place, and the said English effected so much by force of arms, that whether the dauphinists would or no they took and carried off the corpse of the Duke of Clarence from the place, with many tears and regrets. And he was carried with great solemnity to Rouen, and thence to England, where the king his brother had him honourably buried. And it is, as it were, incredible the grief of King Henry for him, with the princes of his blood and kingdom, and so with the common people of the whole country, especially those of London. After the obsequies were performed the king held a general council, at which it was determined that with the largest army he could collect he should cross the sea, and proceed with the business of his enterprise.

How the Dauphinists laid siege to Alençon, and about the Earl of Salisbury, who thought to raise it. CHAPTER XI.

AT the beginning of that year, which is reckoned 1421 after the death of the Duke of Clarence, the dauphinists, who, as I have said in the preceding chapter, had gained a victory over him, collected in great numbers and went to besiege Alençon. At a distance they placed their artillery in fine order, and began to make their approaches; but the English, who were bearing in great sadness the injuries they had newly received, assembled again under the command of the Earl of Salisbury all their garrisons which they had in the country of Normandy, and took the field with the intention of raising the said siege and fighting the besiegers. Then the dauphinists, prepared and warned as before of the approach of their enemies, placed themselves in order outside their camp, displaying an appearance of great boldness; and the English, perceiving them to be much more numerous than themselves, and apprehending the perils and misfortunes that might befal, one of which they had so lately experienced, withdrew to the Abbey of Becq. But before they could arrive there they lost from two to three hundred of their people, some taken prisoners and some killed by the said dauphinists, who pursued them to the gate; but seeing they could not get at them there without great loss they left them, and moreover departed from the said siege of Alençon and returned towards Dreux in Anjou. For in those days the marriage of the Duke of Alençon and the only daughter of Charles of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, was negotiated and completed; the nuptials were very grand and solemn in the town of Blois; of which marriage the principal nego- A.D. 1421.

A.D. 1421. tiators were Charles, Duke of Touraine, Dauphin of Viennois, to whom she was niece, and the Duke of Brittany, uncle of the said Alençon.

In those days also, King Henry, who was in England, where he had already, as has been said, heard tidings of the death of the Duke of Clarence his brother, and of the great loss which he had sustained by the slaughter of the other princes and great lords, about which he was greatly troubled, made preparations marvellously great, according to the appointment of his council; and for the said reason he hastened still more to get ready with his army to proceed to France in order to take vengeance on the dauphinists for the grief which they had sent to his heart.

How the King of England crossed the sea with a great force of men-at-arms and archers; and how the Dauphin besieged the town of Chartres. CHAPTER XII.

AFTER the King of England had settled the affairs of his kingdom and his army was all ready round Canterbury, and the men-at-arms had received their pay for eight months, he came in person to Dover, attended by part of his said army, and the rest he directed to the neighbouring ports, where all took to sea on the eve of St. Barnabas in the morning, on which same day they arrived all together in the harbour of Calais.[1] So the king went to lodge in his castle of the said Calais; and all the men-at-arms as they gradually left the vessels quartered themselves in the town or its neighbourhood in the places appointed for them by the king and the harbingers of the host. Soon after the said vessels were unloaded King Henry sent them back to England, and

[1] About two o'clock in the afternoon. H.

as it was hoped by distinguished people, there had A.D. 1421.
disembarked at this time from three to four thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers.

On the morrow of St. Barnabas, King Henry furnished the Earl of Dorset and Lord Clifford with 1,200 warriors, and sent them to Paris to strengthen and help the Duke of Exeter and the Parisians, who were then kept very short of food through the dauphinist garrisons which where around them. These noblemen, wisely avoiding the ambuscades of the Dauphin, rode rapidly to the said place of Paris, where they were very joyfully received, both for their own arrival and the news they brought of the landing of King Henry with such a fine company. The Parisians had several times begged him to hasten, for they had great confidence in him; and he came just in time, as the Dauphin had collected from various parts a great force of men-at-arms, whom he led to the town of Chartres to besiege it. And on his way thither the towns of Bonneval and Gaillard with some other fortresses surrendered to him, and he garrisoned them with his men; then he went to lodge near the town of Chartres, which he besieged on all sides very powerfully; but it was well defended by the Bastard of Thyan and other captains who had been sent in haste to assist the said city, and word was sent to the King of England by those who had seen the force of the Dauphin, that he might have about from six to seven thousand men-at-arms, with four thousand cross-bowmen and six thousand hand-bowmen.

When the dauphinists arrived before Chartres they erected several engines against the gates and walls of the town, by which it was somewhat troubled; but for as much as those within were assured of having speedy help by the King of England, they were in little anxiety about the speeches

A.D. 1421. or menaces of the besiegers, and kept close to the work.

How the King of England left Calais to go and raise the siege before the city of Chartres. CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER some days had passed, and the King of England had settled his affairs in the town of Calais, he left it in haste, because again the Parisians and his uncle Exeter had pressed him to succour the said town of Chartres. So he took his way[1] to Monterau, where he lodged in the Hotel of the Crown, and most of his men bivouacked on the flat country round about. On the previous day, Philip Duke of Burgundy had come to this town to meet King Henry; and for as much as he was suffering from fever, he did not mount his horse to go to meet the said king, but sent Sir John of Luxemburg to make his humble apology for not having gone. After this arrival of the king they sojourned in the said town three days to talk together,[2] then on leaving they passed on to a town called Montigny, where the king ordered the tower, house, and mill of Sir Jacques de Harcourt to be burned. And because King Henry wished to cross the water of the Somme through Abbeville the Duke of Burgundy went before to settle with the people of the town, and he so managed that the passage was granted him, though with grudging enough; but the duke promised that all expenses should be fully paid.

Meanwhile the king employed himself in hunting in the forest of Cressy;[3] then on the following day

[1] *Along the sea-coast.* H.

[2] *And hold council on their affairs, and leaving there, they, the duke and the king, went to lodge at Dombart in Ponthieu, and in passing before Montigny the king ordered.* H.

[3] *Crequy.* A. *Cressy.* H. *Crespy.* Monst.

he went to lodge at St. Riquier, near which town A.D. 1421.
was a fortress named La Frete, where there were sixty warriors of Sir Jacques de Harcourt's people, of whom the captain was the Bastard of Belloy. He surrendered the place wholly on being summoned, and a gentleman of the country, named Nicaise de Boufflers, was put in on the part of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy; but shortly afterwards he gave it up as before into the hands of the dauphinists.

From St. Riquier the King of England rode to Abbeville, where he was honourably received through the good management of the said Duke of Burgundy and many handsome presents were made to him, and all his men passed through the town in peace, with waggons, carts, sumpter horses, engines, and other baggage of what kind soever belonging to the king and his army. Next day, after all expenses incurred in the town had been paid, he set out with his army, and allowed the Duke of Burgundy to leave him, on condition that he promised soon to return to him with his army. Then he rode by Beauvais to Gisors, and thence to the forest of Vincennes, where were the King and Queen of France, whom he saluted respectfully, and in like manner was joyfully received by them. And there came to him there the Duke of Exeter and several councillors of the King of France, among whom several consultations were held touching the affairs of the kingdom, and it was at length decided and ordered that the flourettes, royal coins worth six deniers, should be lowered to four deniers. Which thing was soon published throughout the kingdom in the bailliwicks and seneschal districts, and the commonalty of Paris and of the other places began loudly to murmur against the governors of the kingdom about this reduction; but they could do nothing else, rather there came yet worse, to their great

A.D. 1421. loss and displeasure, for the said flourettes were soon reduced again from four deniers to two.

These things being done the King of England collected a great number of the French men-at-arms, with whom and those whom he had brought he went to Mantes to fight the Dauphin, who had already been three weeks before Chartres; and he sent word the Duke of Burgundy to come to him with all the people he could procure to be at the battle. The duke quickly prepared himself to go, and proceeded to the town of Amiens with 3,000 good warriors, the flower of the people. So he went by Beauvais and Gisors towards the said town of Mantes; but leaving his men at a large village, he went with his private retinue only to the King of England, who was much pleased at his arrival and the diligence he had used.

But meanwhile the Dauphin, and those who were with him, being warned of the force and muster above-mentioned, departed from before Chartres and retired towards Tours in Touraine. And therefore after the Duke of Burgundy had had some conversation with the king his brother-in-law, and they had heard certain news of the Dauphin having broken up his camp before the town of Chartres, it was ordered by the said King of England that the Duke of Burgundy should return into [that part of] his own country nearest to Picardy, there to subdue the dauphinists, who daily strove to commit outrages by means of Sir Jacques de Harcourt.

Here it makes mention how the Duke of Burgundy laid siege to St. Riquier. CHAPTER XIV.

DURING the journey which the Duke of Burgundy took to join the King of England, as you may have heard in the preceeding chapter, the Lord of Offemont, Pothon de Sainte Treille, and others were

gathered together by the influence of Sir Jacques de Harcourt to the number of twelve hundred horse. These all entered within St. Riquier, and they had likewise the castle of Drugy, belonging to the abbot of Saint Riquier, and as soon as they found themselves lodged they began to overrun the country, and commit innumerable evils. They captured the fortress of Dourier situated in a very strong place on the river Authie, by which capture the town of Monterau and the surrounding districts were greatly troubled. The Duke of Burgundy was informed of these things in the town of Croissy, where he was quartered with all his army, to wit, how the Lord of Offemont, Pothon de Sainte Treille, and their followers were lodged within Saint Riquier, and how they were committing innumerable evils in the surrounding country. Upon which tidings, the duke assembled his council, in which it was determined to go quickly and lay siege to St. Riquier. To furnish this undertaking he summoned a great many men-at-arms, archers, and cross-bowmen, both in his own territories, and in the countries of France which held with his party; also he sent to Amiens and other towns to get provisions. A.D. 1421.

After the decisions and appointments thus made, the duke came to Amiens; then when he saw his army was ready he set out, and came to quarters on the river Authie three leagues from Saint Riquier, at which place he was joined by Sir John of Luxembourg. The next day the duke went to lodge at Pont Remy, which he took by force, and from which Sir John of Luxembourg went with a hundred chosen men-at-arms on a raid to St. Riquier where some of the men engaged bravely in single combats.

Then after the taking of Pont Remy the Duke of Burgundy went to lodge at Abbeville, and most of his men in the suburbs; from thence at the end of

A.D. 1421. July he went to encamp round Saint Riquier. So Sir John of Luxembourg had his quarters before the gate of St. John on the bank towards Aussi, the Lord of Croy encamped before the gate St. Nicholas on the side towards Abbeville, and at the gate of Heron above towards Le Crotoy there was no encampment, wherefore the people of the town could go out every day during the siege on foot or on horseback as they pleased.

Soon after the Duke of Burgundy was thus as you hear encamped before Saint Riquier, there came to him great assistance from his own country, so they began to make approaches and set up engines and other instruments to annoy the town and their enemies. Duke Philip might have in his following from five to six thousand warriors, and the people in the town, with the Lord of Offemont and Pothon de Sainte Treille had about from twelve to fourteen hundred; these were all of one mind to defend themselves against their enemies, and to distress and injure them as much as they could. As for the sallies which the besieged made against the camp they achieved more gain than loss, for they took and carried prisoners into the town some of the Duke of Burgundy's people. He with his bombards and cannons greatly damaged the town, but on the other hand, the said besieged projected their stones also from engines among the host of the duke, where they sometimes wounded and killed one here and another there. Sir Jacques de Harcourt pretty often sent some of his men to the people of the town, begging them to hold out, and saying that they would shortly have help to raise the siege, for he had already sent messengers to the various places from which he expected to have assistance, and men were coming to him in large numbers. The duke was informed of this, and that his enemies intended to fight him; on which intelligence he gathered his council, in which

it was determined to raise the siege and go to meet his enemies and fight them before they could join Sir Jacques de Harcourt. These resolutions being taken, Sir Philip de Vallois, Duke of Burgundy, one Friday, the 29th day of August, raised his siege before Saint Riquier, and about sunset made Philip of Saveuse and the Lord of Creveceur go forth from his army with six score fighting men to find out the dauphinists, commanding them to inform him by a trusty messenger of whatever they could learn; which thing they promised to do. Then they left the army, and took the road towards the country of Vimeu. During this time the duke, as secretly as he could, got all sorts of baggage packed up, and put into the waggons and carts, then when all were drawn into the fields he set fire to all the encampment, and this being done he took his way to Abbeville, where some remained on horseback to eat and drink, so as to be ready the sooner in case any news should come from those who, as it has been told, had been sent forward. These riding in Vimeu towards Oysemon, between the dawn and sunrise, perceived the dauphinists, who in good order were making briskly for the ford of Blanche Tache, and Philip of Saveuse's men made prisoners of some straggling horsemen, by whom the secret of their design was wholly made known and disclosed. Upon which they quickly sent to the duke, who was at Abbeville, as we have said, to announce to him the approach of his enemies, and hasten him that he might be able to meet them before they should have crossed the river. The Duke of Burgundy, who desired nothing more than to find the dauphinists, was greatly rejoiced on hearing this news, so he quickly drew out his men to the fields, and rode vigorously and in good order to meet the enemy; but he left all his baggage and infantry at Abbeville. A.D. 1421.

A.D. 1421. When the dauphinists perceived the forerunners of the Duke of Burgundy, who, as we have said, were riding towards them, they had great misgivings; therefore as soon as ever they could they hastened, making for the said ford of La Blanche Tache, in order to cross the water of the Somme and join Sir Jacques de Harcourt and his people, who were on the other side of the river towards Saint Riquier, waiting for them. During this time the said forerunners of the Duke of Burgundy were sending him messengers bearing news of the said dauphinists, to make him hasten, so that he might come up before they had crossed the said river, which he greatly desired, as he plainly showed, for he made his men push on as fast as the horses could go, to the end that his enemies might not escape him without a battle. But hasten he never so fast the said dauphinists were beginning to cross the river before he could come up. Notwithstanding this, when these perceived the Burgundians coming so briskly to surprise them, and that they would not be half crossed before their arrival, they changed their purpose to avoid the danger of being taken in disorder, and leaving the ford they returned to the open fields, and rode in good order to meet Duke Philip and his followers, making a display of willingness to fight him and his force, although they were a small number compared with the said Burgundians. To these was now joined Pothon de Sainte Treille who with eleven men only had been riding all night from Saint Riquier to be at this business. Then began the two parties to approach each other, and so near that each party could estimate the power of its adversaries. Then, because Duke Philip's men rode at a regular pace, several heralds and poursuivants were sent to hasten them. And Sir Jacques de Harcourt, who was on the other side of the river with all his men, seeing

these parties thus riding to meet each other, did not go forward to cross the river and assist the people whom he had himself sent for, and who were coming to serve him, but he returned to Le Crotoy, from whence he had set out that morning. A.D. 1421.

How the Duke of Burgundy conquered and routed the Dauphinists. CHAPTER XV.

Now it is true that on that Saturday, the last of August, at midday, the two armies aforesaid rode proudly to meet each other. At three bowshots distance they halted a little, and there in haste some new knights were created by each party. Among these Duke Philip was dubbed and received the accolade from the hands of Sir John of Luxenbourg, and afterwards the said Duke dubbed as a knight Philip de Saveuses, and several others on his side, and afterwards the standard of the said Philip de Saveuses with six score warriors commanded by Sir Maurroy de Saint Leger and the Bastard of Coucy was sent away to the open fields on one side to strike into the said dauphinists in flank. Then the two parties, who were very desirous to get at each other, approached, and especially the dauphinists, with a great noise struck into the battalion of the Burgundians as far as their horses in full career could carry them; and there they were very well received. And at this meeting there was great breaking of lances, and many men-at-arms and horses terribly borne to earth on both sides. And then they began every where to strike one another, and very horribly to beat down and kill. They had not been long fighting when at least two thirds of the Duke Burgundy's army fled towards

A.D. 1421. Abbeville, where they were not received; wherefore they went from that to Picquigny; with this company was the banner of the duke himself, which, in the hurry had not been committed to any other hands than those of the groom, who, when not in battle, was usually accustomed to carry it when the duke rode with his army from one camp to another through the fields. This groom, when flying with the rest, threw away the said banner on the ground; but it was picked up by a gentleman named John de Roisimbos, round whom several noble men among the said fugitives rallied and collected; a large number of these had been renowned as valiant in arms before this day; however at that hour they left the duke their lord and the others with him to remain in this imminent danger. For this they were greatly blamed; but some wished afterwards to excuse themselves saying that, through the aforesaid banner they thought that the duke was with it; and also again it was certified to them by the king-at arms of Flanders that the said duke was killed or taken prisoner, and that he knew it to be true; wherefore going from bad to worse they were more afraid than before, so they went away, as we have said to Picquigny without returning, and thence to their own homes.

Meanwhile a party of the said dauphinists who saw them leave the army of the said Duke of Burgundy, began to pursue them, that is to say, one named John Raullet and Peron de Luppel, with about six score fighting men, so they captured and killed some, and thought they had gained the day, and that all were routed; but their idea was false, for the brave duke and about five hundred combatants who remained with him, some of the noble most and expert in arms of his company, fought fiercely and valiantly against the said dauphinists, and in the end obtained the victory, and remained masters of the field. And as it

was afterwards related by both parties, Duke Philip behaved this day very prudently and bravely against his enemies, and was in great danger from the commencement, for he was one of the first that met the foe, and he was attacked by two lancers at the first onset, of which one pierced his war saddle quite beyond the saddle bow in front, and passed over his side above his armour, and besides his arm was caught by a powerful man-at-arms, who thought to throw him on the ground; but the good steed on which he was mounted carried him by force quite clear, where he gave that day some heavy blows to his enemies, and in his own person engaged in many fine skirmishes, exhibiting a worthy commencement of chivalry, which he happily maintained all his life. That day he also with his own hands made prisoners of two brave men-at-arms; so the dauphinists were in the end broken and obliged to take flight, principally through the labour, conduct, and diligence of the good duke, who pursued them a long way towards the river with a small company, and at last found himself alone, but for one gentleman named Guy de Rely, who made him return in haste; for he was taking his way towards a little hill on which were some dauphinists, and he, supposing that they were his own men was going at a good speed towards that quarter, when the said Sir Guy told him they were his enemies. Very soon there came up to him the Lord of Longueval and some others, who kept him company very well; so for a long while most of his people were in great fear about him, for they knew not what had become of him. A.D. 1421.

Just at this hour John Rollin and Peron du Lupel, dauphinists, with their men, returned from pursuing the first Burgundian fugitives of whom mention has been made, and they expected immediately to come and enter boldly among their people, whom they supposed

A.D. 1421. victorious, in the place where the conflict had been; but when they perceived the contrary they took to flight at a good pace, and with them the Lord of Mouy, towards Saint Wallery; while the rest had taken the way towards Araines.

Then the Duke of Burgundy, who had returned to the field, made his people assemble, and raise up some who were lying there dead, especially the Lord of La Viesville. And albeit that the nobles and great lords who had remained with the duke had all behaved valiantly all that day, among the rest it is fit to speak of John Villain, a noble man of the country who had that day been made a knight. He was a man of lofty stature and powerful frame, mounted on a strong horse, and wielding a very heavy axe with both hands. With this at the encounter he pushed into the greatest throng of his enemies, and having let go his bridle he dealt such heavy blows that those whom he reached with a fair aim could but fall to the ground to rise no more. In this condition he met Pothon de Sainte Treille, who, as he afterwards related, seeing the marvels that the said new knight was doing, withdrew to the rear as fast as he could for fear of the axe which was dealing such heavy blows.

Now then, when the Duke of Burgundy found that he had the advantage in this affair, he returned to Abbeville, where he was very joyfully received, and he brought there a great company of dauphinist captains, who had been taken this day, that is to say, the Lord of Conflans, Louis d'Auffemont, Sir Giles de Gamaches and his brother Louis, Sir Louis de Thienbronne, Pothon de Sainte Treille, the Marquis of Serre and his brother, Philip de Saint Sollier, Sir Rigaut de Fontaines, Sauvage de La Rivière, Sir Ralph de Gaucourt, Sir John de Rogan, Bernard de Saint Martin, John de Joigny, the Lord of Mommer, and many other gentlemen to the number of six score.

And there dead lay on the field on one side or other A.D. 1421.
from four to five hundred, of whom it was hoped only from twenty to thirty were of the Duke of Burgundy's party; and there were some rescues, especially Sir John of Luxembourg, who, when taken, was wounded in the face.

After this battle gained by the Duke of Burgundy, he gave loud thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, and alighted before the church of Notre Dame in Abbeville, where he made offering and prayer. This done, he went to lodge at the Hotel of the Crown, and his people through the town, every one the best way he could. And you may know well enough that he was not well pleased with those who left and abandoned him, as you have heard above, and had fled to Piquigny for safety, and there was much cause; nor did he ever afterwards hold them of so much account as before, but dismissed them from his house and service, so that they never durst show themselves openly again.

Here is made mention of those who remained this day with the Duke of Burgundy, and of those who left him and fled. CHAPTER XVI.[1]

Now it is right to set forth, in order that others may take example, what lords and noblemen remained that day with the said Duke of Burgundy, to serve and accompany him as good and loyal vassals are bound to do to their natural lord. And first of his captains, indeed the greatest, [were] Sir John of Luxembourg, the Lord of Anthoing, Sir John de Latremouille, the Lord of Jonnelle, the Lord of Jenly, the

[1] In the text, however, it does not appear who were the delinquents; but the names given are the leading ones on each side.

A.D. 1421. Lord of Croy, the Lord of Saveuses, the Lord of Robaix and Sir John his son, the Lord of Aussi,[1] the Lord of Creveceur, the Lord of Noyelle, called the white knight; the lord of Humbercourt and his two sons, Sir Pierre Quieret, John de Mailly, John de Fosseux, the monk of Renty, Sir David de Brimeu, the Lord of Saint Symon, the Lord of Formensan, Regnault de Longueval, Aubelet de Folleville, the Bastard of Concy,[2] John de Flavy, Andrew de Thonlongon, Sir Phillibert Andrivet, a Savoyard; Sir Gauvain de la Viesville, Sir Florimont de Brimeu, Sir Maurroy de Saint Legièr, Sir Andrew d'Azincourt, the Lord of Commines and his brother Sir Collard, Sir John de Stemuse, Sir John de Hornes, Sir Roland de Utequerque and his son Sir John Ghillain de Hallewin, Sir John Villain and Sir Andrew Villain, Sir Damot de Poix, the Lord of Moiencourt, and several other notable knights and squires of the duke's household.

And against these there were of the Dauphin's party the Lord of Comflams, the Baron de Guiery, the Lord of Mouy, Louis d'Auffemont, Sir Giles de Gamaches and his brother Sir Louis, Pothon de Sainte Treille, Sir Rigaut de Fontaines, Sir Rigaut de Saint Sollier, John de Prosy, the Marquis of Serre and his brother, Pieron du Luppel, John Rollet, Rigaut d'Asne, Sir Ralph de Gaucourt, Sir Louis de Thienbrone, the Lord of Mommer, Bernard de Saint Martin,[3] Gallehault d'Arsi, Sir Sarrazin de Beaufort, Robinet de Verseles and his brother John de Joigny, Yvon du Puis, John de Sommain, Herue and John de Dourdas and some others, attended by five or six hundred warriors, picked men-at-arms, and from three to four hundred archers, warlike men and in good condition, who had come from various garrisons.

[1] *Inchy.* H.
[2] *Sir Loys de Saint Sollier.* H.
[3] *Tybault de Gourincourt.* H.

These tidings, which were very pleasing to those who held to the side of England and the said victorious Duke of Burgundy, were soon spread through the country, and occasioned very great gladness, and with reason; on the contrary it was hard and piteous news to the Dauphin and those of his party; but for the time it behoved them to bear it, for they could have no other; so they carried it off as handsomely as they could. And above all others the King of England was joyous about it, so were all his princes when the news came to them. A.D. 1421.

How the King of England took the town of Dreux, how with his whole force he pursued the Dauphin to fight him, and how he laid siege to the town and market of Meaux. CHAPTER XVII.

Now then, to pursue our subject, in the manner and style that we have commenced above, and continue the deeds of King Henry of England which he performed during his life in the kingdom of France from the time that he entered it and took Harfleur. You have heard not long ago how the said King of England and his army accompanied by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, desired to ride towards Chartres where they expected to find the Dauphin, who had besieged it; but he knowing the fact of their approach, and of the great force they were bringing, departed. And so you have heard how the said king gave the Duke of Burgundy leave to return to his territories in Picardy and Flanders. Then after the said duke separated from the king, whom he left at Mantes, the king with his force took the way towards Dreux, and was always increasing his army, for people came to him daily from Paris, Normandy, and elsewhere.

A.D. 1421. This town of Dreux he surrounded on all sides; but those who were within stipulated with him, promising to place this town in his hands on the twentieth day of August, in case he was not met in fight by their lord the Dauphin before that day; for the accomplishment of which they gave good hostages. And forasmuch as this Dauphin did not appear they gave up the town to the King of England on that day, and placed it under his authority; and he put in people of his own in such good numbers that it was well kept for him, and these dauphinists surrendered themselves safe in person and goods; but previously they had promised not to arm themselves against the King of England or those of his party during a year. And there might be at least eight hundred that departed from within. After these had evacuated the town of Dreux, as we have said, and King Henry had put in their place a good large garrison and well supplied it with food, artillery, and all things necessary for them, he departed, and went riding along the river Loire, pursuing the Dauphin, whom he had a great desire to find with his army, in order to fight with him to avenge the death of the Duke of Clarence his brother, and others of his followers who fell in the discomfiture at Baujé; and in performing this journey he subdued to his authority Baugency-sur-Loire, with some other fortresses. Then, seeing that the Dauphin did not mean to fight he returned through the country of Beausse, where he one day found in his path fifty or sixty men-at-arms mounted on the finest of coursers, that had many times watched and dogged his army. But suddenly he caused them to be pursued by some of his well mounted men, and they in their flight betook themselves to a castle called Rougemont, in the said country of Beausse. Here the king besieged and roughly assailed them; so they were all taken with little loss among the English, that is to

say, only one man, to avenge whom the king caused A.D. 1421.
all the aforesaid companions to be drowned in the river Yonne. From that he went to lay siege to the town of Noue-le-Roy, which was very soon given up to him by the dauphinists who were within, on condition of getting away with their persons and goods safe; so the king placed in it a good garrison of his own people.

Afterwards at the end of September the king came to quarters at Lagny-sur-Marne, and his men in the neighbouring villages. At this place of Lagny the King of England had constructed the engines and implements necessary for the purposes of siege to take to Meaux-en-Brie; and with all haste he sent his uncle the Duke of Exeter with four thousand combatants to lodge in the suburbs of the said town of Meaux in order that those within might not set it on fire. And after the king had made ready all necessaries according to his wishes in this town of Lagny he set out with his army, in which there were fully 20,000 combatants, and on the sixth day of October encamped quite round the town and market-place of Meaux. Then shortly afterwards he had his camp inclosed with fences and ditches, in order that he might not be surprised by his enemies. And besides he set up several engines against the gates and walls of the said town to beat it down and demolish it, and this work was continued with great diligence.

Within this town and market-place of Meaux there were on behalf of the Dauphin the Bastard of Vaireulz, captain general of the place, and his brother Denis, Pieron du Luppel, Guichard de Sissay, Philip Mallet, Sir Louis Gast, Le Borgne de Camchin, John d'Annay, Tromagon, Bernard, Philip de Gamaches, and others, up to a thousand fighting men, chosen and experienced in arms, not reckoning the burgesses and common people. So they began valiantly to resist the assaults

A.D. 1421. and efforts of the English, and thus continued a long while, as you shall afterwards hear.

In those days also it was ordered by the royal council at Paris that the flourettes which had been current for four deniers, as has been above adverted to, should be reduced to two deniers, and the gold crown was placed at eighteen Parisian sous: about which changes, following those of which mention has already been made, many people were greatly troubled, seeing that the property which they had in the current coins and deniers was diminished an eighth[1] part in value. And for a supply of new money that might be valuable there were coined golden *saluses*, which circulated for twenty-five Tours sous each, and there were emblazoned on these two crowns, one of France and the other of England; and with regard to white money, they coined doubles, which went for two Tours deniers each, and at last were commonly called *niques*, and continued in circulation only about three years.

In those days the Duke of Burgundy desired and laboured hard that through the dauphinist prisoners whom he kept in his hotel in the town of Lille he might find means of getting rid of the men who occupied the town of Saint Riquier and greatly disturbed his territories. So it was concluded that the said prisoners should be set entirely free without paying anything in case they could persuade the Lord of Auffemont and his companions within the said town of Saint Riquier to surrender it to the Duke of Burgundy with the prisoners whom they held, and had taken since they came there, acquitting them of their ransoms. This was done in the way you have heard, and thus was the town of Saint Riquier given up to the Duke of Burgundy.

[1] *Sic.*

Here is made mention of an encounter in which the English obtained the victory over Sir Jacques de Harcourt. CHAPTER XVIII. A.D. 1421.

ABOUT this time Sir Jacques de Harcourt, riding in Vimeu with six or seven hundred fighting men, was met by some English, who, by chance had gathered from Arques, Neufchâtel, and other places to go and seek adventures against the dauphinists, their enemies. At this encounter there was fierce and cruel battle; however, in the end the English had the victory, and the said Sir Jacques lost from two to three hundred of his companions, killed or taken prisoners, but by means of the good horse on which he was mounted he saved his own person by flight, and so did some of the knights and esquires of his company. Among those captured was the Lord of Verduisant, who was then one of the captains of Saint Wallery for the Dauphin. After this victory the English, very joyful at their good fortune, returned [1] to their own places.

During this this time the Duke of Burgundy, after the festival of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ was over, set out from his town of Arras, where he left the Duchess Michielle his wife, daughter of the King of France. So they took leave of each other never to meet again, for she died soon after the [2] departure of the Duke her husband, as shall be told hereafter in its place. After the Duke left Arras with the Count de Saint Pol and a standard unfurled, he pursued his way till he came to Paris. So he went to see the King and Queen of France his father-in-law and mother-in-law at the Forest of Vicaine, and they made him good cheer. After he had stayed there some days,

[1] *With great spoils to the garrison whence they had started, with little loss of their men.* H.

[2] *death of her major-domo and the departure* in H.

A.D. 1421. he went by Lagny-sur-Marne to the King of England his brother-in-law, who was laying siege before the town and market place of Meaux-en-Brie, and by whom he was grandly received and worthily entertained. And they held several great consultations together touching the business and affairs of the kingdoms of France and England; but before the said duke went to King Henry the Prince of Orange with a great number of Burgundians separated from him. The cause of his departure, according to common report, was that he did not choose to go to the King of England with the duke, so that he might not be asked or obliged to make oath to him, as had been lately done by the Lord of St. George, who had gone to the king to make humble request for the liberation of his nephew, the Lord of Châtel-Villain, who by the said king's order had been long detained a prisoner at Paris, but was set free according to the request and prayer of the said Lord of St. George soon after he took the oath.

When Duke Philip had sojourned a while at the siege of Meaux with the King of England, he took leave of him and withdrew to Paris, thence by Troyes he went to his own country of Burgundy, to see the duchess his mother and his sisters, by whom he was joyfully received. And there he received homage and fealty from his subjects with the usual oaths; then after several feasts and amusements of jousts and tourneys got up to welcome him, he went to see his uncle by marriage and his aunt, the Duke and Duchess of Savoy, and this visit being accomplished he returned into his own country of Burgundy, where he remained a while settling his affairs.

How the King of England heard news that the queen his wife had given birth to a fine son, and of the arrival of Sir John of Luxembourg, and of Arthur of Brittany, Count of Richemont. CHAPTER XIX. A.D. 1422.

DURING the time that the King of England was maintaining the siege of Meaux-en-Brie, Sir John of Luxembourg came to him with a small retinue to negotiate for the release of the Count of Conversan his brother, who had for a long time been a prisoner of Pieron de Lupel in this town of Meaux; and the said Sir John having arrived there, so managed and negotiated with the help and by means of the King of England that his said brother was released from prison on condition of a large sum of money paid for him to the said Lupel at his deliverance on the day appointed; and he afterwards remained in the service of the King of England during the siege of Meaux, and Sir John his brother returned into Picardy, of which he was captain general, having in his company Sir Hugh de Lannoy, who had been newly appointed master of the crossbowmen of France on the part of the two kings of England and France.

In this year Catherine of France, Queen of England, gave birth to a fine boy, who by order of the king his father was named Henry at the font by those who were commissioned thereto; and he was held up by Lady Jaqueline of Bavaria, Duchess of Brabant, who was at this time in the said kingdom of England. King Henry's heart was filled with great gladness on account of this birth; also throughout the kingdom there was perfect joy displayed, more than there had been seen for a long time before about any other royal infant.

A.D. 1422. At this time the dauphinists took at the first onset the town of Avranches, at which from two to three hundred English were killed or taken prisoners, with which the King of England was much displeased when it came to his knowledge, so he sent from his camp at Meaux a certain number of his people to aid the Earl of Salisbury, who was governor of the whole of Normandy, and who used such diligence that this town was soon reconquered, and many dauphinists were killed and taken.

At this same time, Arthur Count of Richemont, and brother of the Duke of Brittany in France, returned by treaty from the prisons of the King of England, and after his release he went with a great number of men-at-arms to the camp of Meaux to serve the King of England, in which service he continued during the lifetime of this King.

How the Lord of Offemont came expecting to enter Meaux, but was taken prisoner and brought to the King, and was lodged in the Abbey of St. Pharan. CHAPTER XX.

DURING the siege of Meaux the Lord of Offemont with about forty combatants, the most expert and renowned in deeds of war that he could obtain, entered into Brie, and proceeded to pretty near the town of Meaux, where the King of England was keeping up the siege, as has been narrated above in several places, with the intention of entering secretly into that town to assist in defending it, and to comfort the besieged, who had several times besought him to be their captain; these apprised of his arrival, were prepared to receive him, and had in the evening placed outside the walls a ladder by which he was to

climb up with his men. Then on the day appointed A.D. 1422.
by them, the said Lord of Offemont drew near to accomplish his purpose, and as he was coming he met some of the English watch, who were quickly put to death by him and his followers. Then he proceeded to the moats of the town, and his people began to get inside by the said ladder prepared for them, in fact several of them entered, but he who was quite in the rear to push them forward, being in full armour and crossing an old plank over a deep ditch fell in, and his companions could by no means draw him out though they reached their lances to him, for these, because of his weight, remained in his hands. Meanwhile those in this camp, hearing the murmurs and alarm, came upon them in great force without delay, and seized all that had still to mount, so the said Lord of Offemont was wounded in the face, so were some of his men, and in this condition they brought him before King Henry, who was very joyful for his capture. So he questioned him on several points, and then appointed him good guards, and had his person well cared for.

Next day the besieged, sad at heart for this misfortune, and fearing that in the long run they would not be able to keep the town because of its great circuit, removed all the property into the market-place. This being perceived by John de Guigny, the Savoyard, and his men who were at the said siege, they suddenly bestirred themselves, and went to assail the said town on one side, and immediately the besieged bestirred themselves, and so the assault began everywhere severe and heavy, and so fierce, that in a short time the town was taken without great loss to the assailants, therefore those of the besieged who could retreated to the market, for some of them at this capture had been killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Within the town thus gained the King of England lodged with a great part of his followers and these

A.D. 1421–2. soon afterwards captured a little island near the said market-place, in which the king placed some large bombards which marvellously shattered the houses and walls of the said market. By these means the besieged were greatly distressed and reduced to very great necessity, for besides, King Henry had set up several engines, and made large bulwarks, and other appliances near the wall, and he had so constantly persevered in this that the said besieged saw themselves daily in danger of being taken, and they had no hope of succour from the Dauphin their lord, for the day was long passed by which he had promised to send them help. Moreover, things going from bad to worse with the besieged, the English took the mills of the said market place, so that those within could not grind their corn except with great difficulty and danger.

How during the siege of Meaux Sir John of Luxembourg took several castles and fortresses holding by the Dauphin's party. CHAPTER XXI.

Now it behoves us to speak briefly for a little of the particular things which came to pass during the siege which the English were maintaining against Meaux.

True it is that about the month of May in this year, Sir John of Luxembourg, as captain-general of the country of Picardy, issued a wide summons in the names of the Kings of France and England, and made a gathering round Encre, where he passed his musters. With him were some great lords of Picardy, that is to say, Sir Hugh de Lannoy, then master of the cross-bowmen of France, the Lord of Longueval, the Vidam of Amiens, the Lord of Saveuses, the Lord of Humbercourt, and a great number of other knights and esquires. After these things were done, the captains

ordered the assault of a wretched castle named Le Quesnoy, which belonged to John d'Arly, and in which were about forty plunderers of the Dauphin's party, who, with those of Araines, had greatly harassed the country of Vimeu and all along the River Somme from Araines[1] to Abbeville. So the better to secure that they should not escape, the Vidam of Amiens and the Lord of Saveuses with all their men were sent one day before [the fortress],[2] and finally they were so distressed by the engines of the besiegers, who knocked down their walls, that they begged to have a parley with them and to surrender the place. Finally, they came to terms with the Lord of Saveuses, who had been commissioned thereto by Sir John of Luxembourg, the condition being that they should surrender the fortress, and all the goods in it were to be at the disposal of the said Sir John, with part of the said plunderers, for they were betrayed by Walleran de Saint Germain, their captain, who made his own bargain, and leaving his men in danger went away under a good safe conduct; then the said Luxembourg had part of them hanged and sent the rest to Sir Robert de Josne, bailiff of Amiens, who soon had them despatched like the others, and the fortress was demolished and overthrown. A.D. 1421-2.

Sir John of Luxembourg then went towards Gamaches, and from two to three hundred combatants came to him there under the command of Sir Ralph Butler, so he went to subdue to the authority of the Kings of France and England some fortresses in the country of Vimeu, as Lonroy, Hericourt, and some others.

At the time of which we are speaking the people of the Lord of Gamaches, who were staying at Compiegne, took by storm the fortress of Mortemer near

[1] *Amiens.* H.

[2] *the fortress* H.; omitted in A.

A.D. 1421–2. Mondidier, which was held by Gerard, bastard of Brimeu, and within which the dauphinists placed a large garrison which greatly harassed the country. And on the other hand, the dauphinists of the garrison of Macousi, about two hundred men-at-arms, with their captain, called Mynon, went secretly by night to seize the bridge of Meulent, where they committed many evils, and with the intention of holding it placed a large garrison there, but the King of England quickly sent the Count of Conversan there with a great number of his men, who besieged them, and so managed that soon afterwards the place was given up to them in such wise that the besieged went away safely with all their property.

In those days Sir John of Luxembourg with his army returned during the night of Easter, mustering before the two castles of Araines, and he besieged them on all sides, erecting against the walls several engines that damaged them greatly in a few days. And those inside defended themselves bravely against their enemies with firearms, crossbows, and by all methods in their power. They made some sallies which did little to benefit them, but inasmuch as they were well provided with food and all necessary appurtenances for such cases they held out a long time, besides, it had been promised them by some of the Dauphin's partisans that they should be so powerfully assisted as completely to deliver them from their enemies.

How Sir John of Luxembourg took Araines. CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1422. IN that same year, which was reckoned 1422, the siege being still before Meaux-en-Brie, many dauphinists assembled round Compiegne with the intention of going to succour those who were besieged within the castles

of Araines. The captains for the Dauphin were the Lord of Gamaches, the Lord of Mouy, Pothon de Sainte Treille, and some others, who might all together amount to near a thousand combatants. So they went to Pierepont, which is under the Vidam of Amiens, and notwithstanding this town was fortified with hedges and ditches full of water, nevertheless they entered in and lodged all together; then they delivered an assault on the fortress of the said place, which was well defended by those who had it in charge. A.D. 1422.

While the said dauphinists were lodging at Pierepont there came tidings of it to Sir John of Luxembourg, who was at the siege of Araines, and who, after taking counsel with the wisest men in his army to know what was good to be done about these tidings, ordered some of his captains with a thousand fighting men to go against these dauphinists. The chief of those on the side of the said Luxembourg were Sir Hugh de Lannoy, master of the crossbowmen of France, Sir Ralph Butler, an Englishman, the Lord of Saveuses, Le Borgne de Saveuses, knights, and several other expert men-at-arms, who went to lie at Coucy, and very early next day rode to Moreuil, at which place they had certain information that the dauphinists their enemies were in the town of Pierepont. Therefore, riding in very good order, they hastened to find them, but the said dauphinists, warned of the approach of their enemies, mounted their horses after setting fire to their quarters, and all together went to put themselves in battle array above the town on the side towards Mondidier. Then the Burgundians and the English, as quickly as they could, passed through the town to follow their enemies, notwithstanding the heat of the fire, which greatly hindered them, and there they placed themselves in order of battle against the dauphinists. In this place the Burgundians made several new knights, namely,

A.D. 1422. Le Begue de Lannoy, Anthony de Rebempre, Jacques de Vimeu,[1] Robert Frete, Giles de Hardecourt, Matthew de Ladas, and several others. Meanwhile there took place some skirmishes amongst the vanguards, and some very fine passages of arms on one side as well as the other, so that on both sides there were men thrown on the ground killed and wounded.

The Burgundians and English, hoping to fight with their enemies, all got on foot, but the dauphinists did not dismount, and when they saw the action of their enemies they left the field and rode in good order towards Compiegne. The said English and Burgundians seeing this sent the Lord of Saveuses with a certain number of men after them so as not to lose sight of them, and the other captains followed vigorously with the rest. Nevertheless, the dauphinists went on, and being seized with fear, fled from the field without any loss, except seven or eight who fell in the skirmishes, among whom was a very valiant man-at-arms named Brunel de Gamaches. Thus the said dauphinists retreated to Compiegne. On the side of the Burgundians an old road captain, called Le Breton d'Aily, was killed; and after these things had happened they returned to Sir [John] of Luxembourg at the camp before Araines.

Then the besieged within Araines being informed of the return and repulse of their succours, who had thus gone back without performing any other exploit, and despairing of any other, began to negotiate, and so managed that, saving their persons and property, having safe conduct to go where it seemed good to them, they surrendered the fortresses of Araines well stored with provisions to Sir John of Luxembourg who quickly had them thrown down and demolished.

During the siege of Meaux several raids were made through the country, and many fortresses were

[1] *Brimeu.* H.

destroyed by each party in the kingdom of France A.D. 1422.
for all was tribulation and fighting. To-day a stronghold was taken and to-morrow it was recovered, and whoever would set forth all at length in writing would greatly [extend] the present chronicle and delay the principal matter. So to accomplish my work, which is to carry forward the chronicles of France and England together, I take only the most prominent facts and those which best serve my design, leaving to the history of France alone what belongs thereto, where anyone can find it at length. So I will now return to the siege of Meaux.

How those in the market-place surrendered to the King of England, and of the bargain or treaty which they got. CHAPTER XXIII.

You have well before heard how the King of England maintained his siege powerfully before the good town and market-place of Meaux-en-Brie, of which he had already taken the town by assault, so it remained only to conquer the market-place, before which he continued his siege with great labour, and where he so pressed the besieged that at last a great portion of their walls were rent, and in various places broken down. So the king summoned them to surrender themselves freely to the pleasure of himself and the King of France on a certain day, or if they would not do this he would deliver against them the most marvellous assault they had ever known. To which summons they would by no means listen this time, but replied that the hour of surrender had not yet come. And when the king had heard their reply without saying more to them about it he commenced a powerful assault,

A.D. 1422. which lasted from seven to eight hours, and in which many men were killed and wounded on one side as well as the other; but notwithstanding that the besieged had hard work to resist the power of the King of England which was very great, nevertheless they defended themselves so bravely and fought with so much vigour, that they had no whole lances left within the said market-place, except a very small number that were not quite broken in the aforesaid defence. But instead of lances they fought a long time with iron spits, and strove so hard that this time they drove the English out of their trenches, and greatly rejoiced thereat. Among the other defenders Guichat de Sissay behaved very valiantly, and showed so much courage and prudence that after the surrender the King of England offered to do great things for him if he would join his party, and make oath to him; to which he would not consent, but ever remained a dauphinist.

At this assault several new knights were created by the King of England, among whom were, John de Guigny, a Savoyard, and the Bastard of Thyan, who formerly in the lifetime of Duke John of Burgundy had been great captains of companies of men. On the other hand there were with the King of England at this siege the Lords of Chastillon and Jenly, with several other noblemen of the marches of France and Burgundy, to whom the besieged were speaking continually night and day with much reviling till they had lost hope of relief, when they abstained from it. Among other insults they placed an ass on their walls, and made it bray by the force of the blows which they gave it, mocking the English, and saying that this was their King Henry, and that they ought to come and help him; for which thing and several others the King of England was very indignant against them. There was likewise killed before

this town by the firing of a cannon, the son of the Lord of Cornwall, who was a young, handsome, and valiant knight, cousin german of the king; which death caused great displeasure to him and likewise to all the great nobles of England, by whom he was much beloved; for though he was still young in years he was old in conversation and prudence. A.D. 1422.

Now then, after all the diligent perseverance aforesaid, about the end of April the besieged, who had no more hope, as we have said, of having any help from the Dauphin their lord, knowing also that they could not long hold out or defend themselves against the great assaults and power of the King of England, began to parley about having a treaty. For this there were commissioned on the part of the king his uncle the Duke of Exeter, the Earls of Warwick and Conversan, and with them Sir Walter Hungerford; and on the part of the besieged Sir Philip Mallet, Peron de Luppel, John d'Annay, Smador de Jerasmes, Le Borgne de Coucy, John de Lespinasse, and William de Fosseux. These parties met together on several days, and at last came to an agreement in the way hereinafter set forth:—

First, it was decided that on the following sixth of May the market-place of Meaux should be surrendered by the said besieged and delivered over to the authority of the Kings of France and England.

Item, that Sir Louis Gast, the bastard of Vaurus Denis de Vaurus, John de Rouveres, Tromago, Bernard de Menreville, and one Oraces, who had played on a cornet during the siege, should be surrendered and delivered to the will of the said kings, and should submit to the justice which should be administered to them.

Item, Guichat de Sissay, Peron de Luppel, Maitre Robert de Jerasmes, Philip de Gamaches, and John d'Annay should remain at the will of the said kings,

A.D. 1422. till they should have restored or caused to be restored into the hands of the said kings all the strongholds which they and their relatives were holding against them throughout the Kingdom of France, and after they should have surrendered them their lives should be saved.

Item, all those within the said market-place, namely, English, Welsh, Zeelanders, Irish or Scotch, and others who had formerly been subject to the King of England should remain at the will of the said kings.

Item, all others, as men-at-arms, and the inhabitants and burgesses, should remain at the will of the said kings, saving their lives.

Item, the Count of Conversan to be acquitted, as to money, towards Peron de Luppel or any other whom it might concern, he promising to hold him for ever quit, without any fraud or evil design.

Item, within the eight days when the besieged were to give up the town, they should put, or cause to be put all their goods generally in certain places where they could be clearly seen and fully known, without destroying them, cutting or injuring them, and should deliver inventories of them to the commissioners of the said kings.

Item, that they should put, and cause to be put the relics, books, ornaments, and other church property in a certain safe place as above.

Item, that they should surrender acquitted and liberated, all prisoners that they were keeping, as well in the said market-place as in [other] places or fortresses under their authority, and should acquit them of their oaths and promises.

Item, that during the days aforesaid they should not suffer any man of whatsoever condition, to be removed out of the said market-place, likewise they should not allow any to enter it, unless they were commissioned on the part of the two kings.

Item, for the performance and accomplishment of all the things aforesaid, without infringing any of them, on pain of losing the favour of the said kings, the besieged should give their letters, sealed with their seals, or signed with their hands, to the number of a hundred of the most distinguished, and of these there should remain, as hostages to the said two kings, twenty-four persons, those whom they might choose to elect or to make remain through their negotiators and commissioners. A.D. 1422.

Item, the said conditions being finished and accomplished, all wars and acts of violence should cease between the besieged and the besiegers.

Item, after all the articles aforesaid were agreed to and performed by the two parties they should remain in this condition till the tenth day of the said month in which the dauphinists made proposals to the commissioners of the two Kings of France and England and they should deliver to them the said market-place of Meaux, in the manner that had been negotiated, and in the form embodied in the above.

These commissioners immediately sent all the prisoners under good guards to the camp, and some of the principal ones were taken by water to Rouen, and thence to England; and part were removed to Paris, and imprisoned in various places. So there might be from seven to eight hundred warlike men, the captain-general of whom, namely the Bastard of Vaurus, was beheaded by order of the King of England, and his body hung on a tree outside Meaux, which tree was therefore afterwards called the Vaurus elm. On this tree the said bastard had hanged many Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Burgundians when he could catch them, for which reason the tree was thus named. Moreover his head was placed at the end of his standard, and well fastened to the top of the tree aforesaid.

A.D. 1422. Afterwards the king had Sir Louis Gast, Denis de Vaurus, and Sir John de Rombures and the man who had played the cornet on the wall, mocking those who were in the camp, beheaded at Paris; their heads were placed in the market halls, and the bodies hung to a gibbet by the armpits. And the goods which were very abundant in the said market-place were all distributed at the good pleasure and good will of the King of England, who gloriously and in splendour worthy of his victory entered in noble array within this market-place, where he sojourned for some days to enjoy himself a little, and rest after the labour he had undergone. And he shortly gave orders to rebuild the gates and walls of the town and market-place of Meaux which had been demolished and rent by the great engines during the said siege.

How after the capture of Meaux, several towns, castles, and forts surrendered and submitted to the Kings of France and England.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AFTER the surrender of the market-place of Meaux many towns and fortresses submitted to the commands of the King of England, both in the county of Valois and in the surrounding country, through the Lord of Offemont to whom they were subject. Among these were the towns of Crespy in Valois, the castle of Pierepont, Merlau, Offemont, and some others. There remained, however to the said Lord of Offemont his towns and fortresses, and besides his person was set entirely free on condition that he swore to the final peace lately made between the Kings of France and England. For the keeping of this

he gave sufficient pledges, to wit, the Bishop of Noyon and the Lord of Canny, who bound their persons and property with him as security; and on the other hand they surrendered the prisoners whom they had taken before Meaux, as has been said above, with several other fortresses formerly attached to the Dauphin's party.[1] A.D. 1422.

After that surrender of Meaux, the dauphinist captains, especially in the districts of Beauvaisis, considering the great vigour displayed by the King of England in this matter, heard and saw these things, and how the said king their adversary took throughout the kingdom cities and towns which before his coming they held to be impregnable, and they got so much afraid that shortly afterwards by means of this terror several sent ambassadors to the said King of England to treat with him, [proposing] that they should depart in safety with their garrisons within a certain day appointed. Among these the Lord of Gamaches treated for the town of Compiegne, of which he was captain; and also for the fortresses of Renty, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Mortemer, La Neufville en Haye, Cressenfart and others in the aforesaid country, giving hostages for surrendering them on the next ensuing eighteenth day of June into the hands of the said Kings of France and England or their commissioners deputed to receive them.

Sir Louis de Thienbronne and his companions treated similarly for the town of Gamaches, on condition that they should go away where it seemed good to them, with all their property, under sure safe-conduct from the King of England; and the said town with the inhabitants should remain quiet, taking the oath of the final peace. And moreover by the solicitation of Pieron de Luppel there was surrendered to the authority of the

[1] *omitted to be named for the sake of brevity.* H.

A.D. 1422. two kings the fortress of Montagu, which held a large extent of country in subjection by its strength, and had done much damage to the cities of Rheims and Laon and the surrounding districts. On the other hand those who held the castle of Mouy in Lannois, knowing of the surrenders of the aforesaid towns and fortresses, and fearing that Sir John of Luxembourg and the English would besiege it, kindled fire suddenly within the castle, and went away to Guise. In like manner they abandoned and burned the castles of Mourescourt and of Brissy.

How the Queen of England came to Paris, where she was very joyfully received by the King of France her father, the Queen her mother, and the King her husband. CHAPTER XXV.

ON the twenty-second day of May, 1422, Lady Catherine of France, Queen of England, who had been for sometime recovered after the birth of her son, named Henry like his father, arrived at the port of Harfleur in Normandy in very noble array, with a large fleet of ships full of men-at-arms, and archers; and with her was the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, who was commander of the said army. After they had landed at Rouen they went to the forest of Vincennes to take the said queen of England to see the King of France her father and the queen her mother, who were then staying there. Queen Catherine rode in royal state, the said duke her brother-in-law always beside her, with a great number of men-at-arms. So the King of England her lord and husband, accompanied by his princes, went from the camp at

Meaux to meet her. She was received and congratu- A.D. 1422
lated by him, God knows how joyfully; also the king her father and the queen her mother showed her all the cheer and honour that was possible, for they were greatly rejoiced at the arrival of their said daughter and their son-in-law the King of England her husband. And on the thirtieth day of the said month, the eve of Whitsunday, the Kings of France and England, with the queens their wives, left the Forest of Vincennes, and went to Paris, which they entered in good order and noble state. The King of France and the queen were lodged in their Hotel of St. Pol and the King of England with the queen his consort lodged in the castle of the Louvre, in which places each of the two kings in his own house royally celebrated the solemnities of Whitsunday. And on this said day the King and Queen of England sat grandly and magnificently at table to dine, crowned with their precious diadems. There sat also at other tables in this hall the ecclesiastics, dukes, princes, barons, knights, and noble men, who were all honourably served, each one according to what belonged to his rank. So the king and queen that day held a court grand and rich beyond the French custom; and the people of Paris went in crowds to the castle of the Louvre to see the style and demeanour of the King and Queen of England holding open court and wearing crowns.

On the other hand the King and Queen of France held their Court by themselves in their Hotel of St. Pol, but by no means so grandly or plentifully as they were accustomed to do in days gone by. And thus passed that day in solemn eating and drinking, and in keeping great state as you have heard.

After these festivities were over the King of England, being in the said place of Paris, ordered that the impost of the silver marks which has been

A.D. 1422. mentioned above should be collected, for coining the new money in the same way as it had been collected elsewhere. So there arose many murmerings, but finally through fear and dread of King Henry the Parisians did not dare to show any appearance of ill-will, disobedience, or rebellion.

How the towns of Gamaches and Compiegne with several other towns, castles, and fortresses, were given up to the Kings of France and England. CHAPTER XXVI.

ON the ensuing twelfth day of June the two Kings of France and England and the queens their wives left Paris, and went all together to the town of Senlis, where they sojourned a while. And the day was approaching when the town of Gamaches and others which had been treated about, as I have told above, ought to be surrendered according to the compromise between the parties; wherefore the king sent the Earl of Warwick, with four thousand fighting men in his company, in order to receive these. The earl, according to the promise made, entered the said town of Gamaches on the 17th day of June; so he restored the hostages whom he had brought with him safe and sound. Then he received the oaths of the people of the town in the name of the two kings and appointed as captain one called Sir Felton, a native of the kingdom of England, with a certain number of men-at-arms and bowmen. These matters being finished, after all the towns and fortresses surrendered to the said kings had been well provided the said earl proceeded to Saint Wallery, which was held by the dauphinists, and when he drew near he

sent his couriers to the town, against whom there A.D. 1422.
came out about a hundred of the most expert of the men within, mounted on the best of steeds, brisk and nimble; these rushed at full speed among the English, so there took place some very fine passages of arms between the two parties; men and horses were borne to earth, some of them wounded, and some of the English party were taken back prisoners. While these things were doing the Earl of Warwick hastened with his whole force to succour his men, wherefore it became necessary to re-enter the town very quickly. Then the earl in his armour rode very prudently round the town to close up his army and put his people in good order. Part of them lodged within the abbey, and the rest the best way they could in tents and pavilions. Then when all were lodged and had lain down, the earl arranged and set up his engines; so he began to batter the town, projecting missiles incessantly against the towers, gates, and walls, breaking them down in several places. But be sure that those in the town made many a rush and sally against their enemies, and then very honourably retired within the town with little loss; for those inside were the flower of men-at-arms. And for as much as on the side of the sea there was no blockade for want of shipping, which the English had not, the dauphinists went forth of, and entered into, the town at their pleasure, and by their shipping sent to seek provisions in abundance, and all things needful for them, both to Le Crotoy and elsewhere, as seemed good to them. This greatly vexed the Earl of Warwick and all those in the siege, wherefore the said earl sent to several places and ports of Normandy to obtain ships, which in a few days came in great number and power before the said town, which they besieged on the side of the sea. Then the besieged, seeing that they had lost egress from all parts of their

A.D. 1422. town were greatly distressed wherefore at the end of three weeks they made a treaty with the said Earl of Warwick, on condition that they should leave the said town safe in person and property, on the fourth day of the month of September following, in case the Duke of Touraine, the Dauphin, should not be there with power enough to raise the siege and deliver them from the hands of the English; also that during this time the said besieged should abstain from foraging in the surrounding country; for keeping which things they gave good hostages to the said earl for greater security. Then he raised his siege, and went to the King of England, who made him very welcome.

On the other hand the said king had sent the Duke of Bedford, his brother, and other princes, well attended, to the town of Compiegne to receive it in his name from the hand of the Lord of Gamaches, as he had promised to give it up on the eighteenth day of the month aforesaid. Then there departed about 1,200 horse having good safe conduct from the King of England and good guides, till they had passed beyond the River Seine, and they went to the Dauphin, after the said Lord of Gamaches had similarly given up according to his promise to the delegates of the two kings all the fortresses that his people held in the surrounding country. Thus were restored to the authority and government of the two kings of France and England all the strongholds that the dauphinists held from Paris to Boulogne-sur-la-mer.

When the Duke of Bedford, brother of King Henry, had received the oaths of the burgesses and inhabitants of the good town of Compiegne, and had appointed Sir Hugh de Lannoy to be captain, he returned to the king his brother at Senlis. During the same time ambassadors were sent on behalf of the two kings to Sir Jacques de Harcourt at Le Crotoy, that is to say,

his brother the Bishop of Amiens, and with him the A.D. 1422
Bishop of Beauvais, the good knight Sir Hugh de Lannoy, master of the cross-bowmen, and a herald, to summon him to place the town and castle of Crotoy under the authority of the said kings; but finally whatever arguments or diligence these ambassadors were able to employ, they could not induce the said Sir Jacques de Harcourt to any good treaty, wherefore they returned to the King of England.

How King Henry returned hastily to Paris. Of the capture of Saint Dizier in Perthois, and other matters. CHAPTER XXVII.

IN those times the King of England went from Senlis to Compiegne to see the town, to which place tidings were brought how there had been an attempt to seduce and seize the town of Paris, by letters carried into the said town by the wife of King Charles's armourer who on a certain day, very early in the morning, was observed by a priest, who had gone into one of his gardens outside the town, and who saw her speaking secretly to some armed men in a valley below the said garden. Being greatly terrified at this thing, he returned hastily into the town, and told the keepers of the gate to look to their business, for he had seen armed men in the valley beside the gardens, and a solitary woman speaking to them. When those of the watch heard the priest speak thus they sent to spy out the said woman, who, on her return to the town was arrested and put in prison, where she immediately confessed all she had done. On account of this

A.D. 1422. information the King of England, accompanied by his whole army, returned hastily to Paris, where he ordered the woman to be drowned for her misdeeds, and with her some of her accomplices, then he returned to Senlis, where the King of France was.

At this time Sir John and Sir Anthony de Vergy took the town of Saint Dizier, in Perthois; but the dauphinists who were in it withdrew to the castle, where they were immediately besieged, and meanwhile La Hire and some other dauphinist captains assembled in large numbers to go to the help of those in the said castle of Saint Dizier. The aforesaid lords were warned of this gathering, and to resist it they collected as many as they could obtain and went to meet their adversaries, whom they attacked vigorously and discomfited, and of whom about forty were killed, the rest saving themselves by flight. After this affair they returned to the said place of St. Dizier, so the castle was surrendered to them shortly afterwards, and they furnished it with their own people and with provisions.

How the Duke of Touraine, the Dauphin, with a great body of men-at-arms went to lay siege to the town of Cosne, and of what came of it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Now it is right to speak of the Duke of Touraine, the Dauphin, who at this time gathered from various parts about 20,000 fighting men, with whom he repaired to Sancerre, where he remained personally a pretty long while. During which time there was

brought under his authority La Charité-sur-Loire, in A.D. 1422.
which he placed a large garrison of his followers. Then he besieged the town of Cosne-sur-Loire, which was in the end obliged to treat with the commissioners of the Dauphin on condition that they would surrender the town to him on the seventeenth day of the ensuing month of August, in case that before that day the Duke of Burgundy did not help them so powerfully as to deliver them from the hands of these their enemies. For keeping this the besieged gave hostages to the said besiegers; and it was at this time arranged that the two dukes, to wit, those of Touraine and Burgundy, promised by the mouths of their heralds to be and to appear on the said day each with his army to fight with each other. In order to keep this day the Duke of Burgundy, who had previously arranged to return into his country of Artois, remained in Burgundy, and summoned men from all parts as well of Flanders, as of Picardy, and other places to resort to him; also he sent to the King of England, begging him very pressingly to send him a certain number of his people to be with him on the said day, and also some of his princes or chiefs of war. Then the king, who greatly desired to please the Duke of Burgundy, replied to those who were sent to him that he would not do this, but would go in his own person, with his whole force.

Meanwhile, Sir Hugh de Lannoy, master of the cross-bowmen of France, collected a great number of people, as well from the county of Flanders as from the castlellany of Lille; and likewise did Sir John of Luxembourg, the Lord of Croy, and other captains in the marches of Artois and Picardy, with whom, towards the end of July, they proceeded by various roads round Paris, and thence towards Troyes in Champagne.

On the other hand the King of England, who was then at Senlis, and personally not in very good health,

A.D. 1422. sent his army from round Paris under the command of his brother the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and other princes and captains, to go into Burgundy, and himself suffering a good deal from illness, set out from the said place of Senlis, after taking leave of the King of France and the two queens, namely, his mother-in-law and his wife, whom he never saw more. He went to Melun, where he got himself placed on a litter to go with his people to the meeting, of which mention has been made. But forasmuch as he felt himself too weak he returned and had himself carried to the wood of Vincennes, where he took to bed entirely.

The Duke of Bedford with the other princes and the whole army proceeded by several journeys to the country of Burgundy; so did the lords of Picardy, Flanders, and other places, who made such progress that all arrived at the town of Vezelay, where they found Duke Philip, who was waiting for them with a great number of men-at-arms whom he had collected from various places. So he received and feasted them very joyfully; and especially when he found the Duke of Bedford and the other princes of England, he thanked them most humbly for the noble and powerful aid which they had brought him at his need.

When all the princes and captains were joined together, as you have heard, they began to ride with their men, who were very numerous, towards the town of Cosne. They had by order arranged a vanguard main body, and rear guard; and each division included a certain number of English, Picards, Flemings, and Burgundians. This was done that when it came to the appointed day there might be no envying, and that none of the parties or nations should have more honour or dishonour than another; and thus keeping this order they rode by several days' journey to the place of Cosne, before which they slept during the night on the morrow of which they were to be en-

countered according to the aforesaid promises. But the Duke of Touraine, called the Dauphin, and those by whom he was influenced, knowing the strength of the princes above-named, withdrew with all his warriors to Bourges in Berry, and put in no appearace on the appointed day, wherefore this town of Cosne remained of right subject to the Duke of Burgundy. A.D. 1422.

After having thus spent this day without doing anything, the whole host began to return towards Troyes in Champagne. During this journey, however, there were many English, Flemings, and Picards in great want of victuals, and especially of bread; but as soon as they began to get near the town of Troyes they roamed at large over the flat country, which by their going and returning was greatly harassed wherever they passed.

On their return on the road there came to the Duke of Bedford certain tidings that his brother the King of England was grievously oppressed with his malady, and in great danger of his life. Because of this, he immediately with some of his most trusty men, rode off privately in all haste to the wood of Vincennes, where he found him suffering much from illness. And the Duke of Burgundy sent thither Sir Hugh de Lannoy to visit him and inquire into his condition.

Here it makes mention of the death of Henry King of England. CHAPTER XXIX.

THE King of England, feeling that he was worn out by his illness, called round his bed his brother the Duke of Bedford, his uncle the Duke of Exeter

A.D. 1422. grand master of his household, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Louis de Robersart, and some others to the number of seven or eight of those he trusted most among all his intimates; and these he told sadly enough that it was the pleasure of God his Creator he should close his life and leave this present world. Then he said to the Duke of Bedford: "John, fair "brother, I beseech you by all the loyalty and love "you have ever shown towards me, that you will "always be kind and faithful to the fair child "Henry, your nephew; and I charge you that you "fail not that so long as you live you will not, "whatever may happen, suffer any treaty to be made "with our adversary Charles de Valois, by which the "Duchy of Normandy shall not remain freely in pos-"session of the said fair child; and in case our "brother-in-law Burgundy shall be willing to under-"take the government of the kingdom of France, "I advise you to give it to him, but in case he "refuses it, take it yourself. And as for you, fair "uncle of Exeter, I leave to you alone entirely the "government of the Kingdom of England; for I am "certain you know well how to rule it; and I beg "that from the hour you reach England you will "never return more to France for any affair what-"ever that may turn up. Besides, I appoint you to "be in all things the governor of the fair child Henry "your nephew; and request that as you love me you "will visit him often in person. And you, fair cousin, "I wish that you be his tutor, and remain quietly "with him to educate him in what belongs to his "position, for I know not how better to provide for "him. And again I pray you all as much as I can, "and that you fail not in disobeying this, that you "will have no quarrel with our brother-in-law Bur-"gundy, and this I forbid expressly to my fair brother "Humphrey: for if it happened, which God forbid!

" that there should be any bad feeling between you A.D. 1422.
" and him, the affairs of this kingdom, which are
" prospering for our party, might be greatly damaged
" thereby. Also beware of freeing from prison our
" fair cousin of Orleans, the Count of Eu, the Lord
" of Gaucourt, or Guichard de Sissay, till the fair
" child Henry be of competent age; but as for all the
" others, do as it seems good to you." After these words, and some others much the same, the aforesaid lords replied most humbly, each one for himself, having great sadness at heart, that they would fulfil to the utmost of their power all that he ordered them, and that they knew to be his pleasure, without contravening it in anywise; and that they were all very sorry to see him in so poor a state of health.

Soon afterwards, some of these left the chamber, and Sir Hugh de Lannoy, who had been sent to Henry by the Duke of Burgundy, after he had fulfilled his mission and had some speech with the king, went away to make his report.

Then the said king called his physicians before him, and very pressingly requested them to tell him their opinion, according to what they could see, as to how long he might still have to live. At which request they delayed a while telling him the truth, even if they could give him no hope, saying it was still in the power of God to restore him to health. But he was not pleased with this, and anew requested as we have said, that they would speak the truth about his inquiry. Upon this they consulted together, and then he was answered by one who humbly knelt down before the king's bed: " Sire, think upon your case,
" for it seems to us that except by the favour of God,
" it is hardly possible that you live more than two
" hours." Then the king summoned his confessor, and some other ecclesiastics of his household, whom he ordered to recite the seven [penitential] psalms; and

A.D. 1422. when they came to "*benigne fac, Domine,*" where there is at the end of the verse,[1] "*muri Jherusalem,*" he made them stop, and said aloud, that by the death he was now expecting, he had intended after he had settled the kingdom of France in peace, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the pleasure of his Creator to let him live his term of years. After the king had said this he made them depart, and soon afterwards according to the time the physicians had said, he yielded up his spirit to God, on the last day of August. Duke John of Bedford his brother, with the other princes, and generally all the people of his English kingdom, made great weeping and lamentation for his death, and remained in much sadness. Immediately afterwards his inward parts were buried within the church and monastery of St. Maur-des-Fossés, and his body, well embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin.

At this time the Duke of Burgundy came to the said place of the wood of Vincennes to visit the Duke of Bedford, brother of King Henry, and the other princes remaining there, with whom he held some brief conversation; then departed and came to Paris to lodge at his Hotel of Artois.

The body of the said deceased, King Henry, was carried with great pomp, and nobly attended, into the church of Notre Dame in the city of Paris, in which place a very solemn funeral service was performed; then it was taken to the city of Rouen, where it remained a good while, during which the princes met at Paris for consultation, that is to say, the Dukes of Burgundy, Bedford, and Exeter, besides several other great lords, in order to consider and maturely deliberate together on the government and maintenance of the

[1] Psalm 51, verse 18.

kingdom of France; and there it was decided and promised anew by them that the final peace which had been promised and sworn between the parties should be maintained in the form and manner that had been settled between the two kings of France and England in the town of Troyes in Champagne. A.D. 1422.

I have since been truly informed concerning the principal disease by which the said king was brought to his death, namely that it was by an inflammation which seized him in the fundament, and which is called the disease of St. Anthony.

After those princes had formed their conclusions about the government of France, as you have heard above in the city of Paris, the Duke of Burgundy departed thence, and returned with his Picards into his country of Artois and into Flanders; while the Duke of Bedford with the other English princes went to Rouen to put in order the affairs of the Duchy of Normandy, and thither in great state they brought the Queen of England, who as yet knew nothing of her husband's death.

After the princes of the blood royal of the said king had placed him on a chariot drawn by four large horses, they made his likeness and representation in boiled leather, very finely moulded, bearing on his head a crown of gold, very precious, and holding in his right hand the sceptre or royal bâton, in the left hand a golden apple, and lying in a bed on the aforesaid chariot, the face uncovered and turned towards the sky. The coverlet of this bed was of scarlet silk embroidered with gold, and besides this in passing through the large towns there was carried aloft over the chariot a rich canopy of silk, like what is usually borne above[1] the holy Sacrament. Proceeding thus,

[1] *The sacred body of Jesus Christ.* H.

A.D. 1422. and grandly attended by his princes and the chivalry of his household he was taken by the straight road from Rouen to Abbeville, and placed in the church of St. Affrain. There were many clergymen on the right hand and on the left, who night and day, one after the other, whether, riding, walking, or stopping, chanted and read the office for the dead; and masses were celebrated for him every day in the churches where they lodged from the dawn until none.

From Abbeville they went to Hesdin, from Hesdin to Monterau, and thence to Calais by Boulogne; and while thus proceeding there were always on the road round the chariot several men, robed in white, carrying lighted torches in their hands, behind came those of the king's family and household, attired in black, and afterwards followed those of his lineage clothed in vestments of wailing and tears. After all these and about a league behind came the queen, with a large company, following her lord and husband, who, as we have said, was brought to Calais, where there was great sorrow for his death. Thence they went by sea to Dover in England, then by Canterbury and Rochester to London, where they arrived on the night of St. Martin in the Winter.

To meet the king there issued from the city of London fifteen bishops clothed in pontifical chasubles, and many mitred abbots, and other clergy in great numbers, with a great multitude of burgesses and others of the common people. These ecclesiastics all together took the body of the deceased king within the city, chanting the office for the dead; then took it by London Bridge and Lombard Street to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, the princes of his lineage being nearest the chariot weeping and lamenting. Moreover the first of the four horses which drew the chariot in which lay the said king's corpse, wore a collar emblazoned with the ancient arms of England; on the

collar of the second horse were painted the arms of England and France quarterly, which he bore himself while living; on the collar of the third horse were painted plainly the arms of France without difference; and on the collar of the fourth horse were painted the arms which were borne while he lived in this world by the noble King Arthur, so powerful that none could conquer him; which arms were an azure shield with three golden crowns. A.D. 1422.

After the service for the said King Henry had been performed, royally as was meet, they carried him to be buried in Westminster Abbey, near his predecessors the kings of England, at which interment everything generally was performed in grander style than had been seen for any king of England for two hundred years. And even to him, dead and lying in his tomb, they daily paid as great reverence and honour as if they were assured that he was or might be a saint in paradise.

Thus then as you have heard, this noble King Henry lost and finished his life in the flower of his age, for he might be about forty years old. He was a wise man, skilful in everything he undertook, and of very imperious will. In the seven or eight years that his reign lasted he had made great conquests in the kingdom of France, indeed more than any of his predecessors had done before, and he was so feared and dreaded by his princes and knights, captains, and all kinds of people, that there was no one, especially of the English, ever so near or favoured by him that durst transgress his orders; and likewise to the same state were reduced the people of the kingdom of France, whatever might be their rank, who were under his authority or domination; and the principal reason was that he punished with death without any mercy those who went contrary to and infringed his commands or orders, and he fully maintained the discipline of chivalry as the Romans did of old.

A.D. 1422. After all the business of the king's obsequies was finished the three estates of England met, and there came together a great number of various people to consider and decide what was proper to be done about the rule and government of the kingdom. In the end they agreed to this, that they would bring up as king the only son of the said King Henry lately deceased. He was then only sixteen months old or thereabouts, yet all sorts of people submitted entirely to his authority notwithstanding his great youth; so they presently granted him kingly rank, and the Earl of Warwick with some others began to guide and govern him.

Here is made mention of the death of Lady Michielle of France, wife of Duke Philip of Burgundy; and of the death of King Charles her father. CHAPTER XXX.

AT the time that the musterings were made for the expedition to Cosne, as has been told above, there passed from this world in the good town of Ghent the Lady Michielle, daughter of the King of France, wife of Duke Philip of Burgundy, and sister of the Duke of Touraine, the Dauphin; for which death the members of her family were much distressed, and generally all the people of Ghent, and of the countries of Duke Philip. And pretty soon afterwards, Charles, King of France, also was laid up ill in the Hotel of St. Pol at Paris; and on the twenty-second of October, the day of the eleven thousand virgins, he gave up the ghost. At his death-bed there were present only his chancellor, his first chamberlain, his confessor and almoner, with a

small number of his officers and servants; then after his death he was taken to St. Denis, and there was then there no prince of the blood except the Duke of Bedford, brother to the deceased King Henry; and there was King Charles placed in sepulture with his predecessors the kings of France. After the interment and funeral service of King Charles were finished, all those who had attended it returned to Paris; but before their departure Sir Guy-le-Boutillier and the Bastard of Thyan had been appointed to take charge of the town of Paris, with a great number of men-at-arms; also they had commissioned several captains in the open country to watch and discover the roads and ambushes against the dauphinists in order that they might make no attempt nor do any injury at this hour. A.D. 1422.

Then the Duke of Bedford remained sole and entire regent and governor of the kingdom of France for and in the name of his nephew the young King Henry of England, as to that part which acknowledged his authority. Thus, as you have heard, the noble King Charles ended his days, in the forty-second year of his reign. During the greatest part of his time he had many great troubles to suffer through the quarrels which his nearest relatives had with each other, as has been particularly told above; but whoever wishes to see it more at length may read the history of the said King Charles himself; he will find it there. And here end the grand conquests of the noble King Henry of England, the fifth of this name, which he made after the death of King Henry his father,[1] the usurper of the crown of the glorious

[1] *who caused to be grievously slain King Richard his cousin german, and took and usurped his kingdom, whereof he caused himself to be crowned (king) before the death of the said King Richard. After this usurpation of the diadem he caused him to be slain, as may be clearly seen in the fifth book of the preceding great volume . . . . . Here ends* in H.

A.D. 1422. King Richard, and the author of his sad death in the manner set forth in the last book of our fourth volume. Which death was avenged in the way you shall afterwards hear in the sixth and last volume, according to the authority which says: *de male acquisitis non gaudebit tertius heres.*

Here ends the second book of this fifth volume, and the third follows.

ERRATA.

p. 164, line 16, for "Periquel" read "Perigord."
p. 258, line 4, after "attacked" insert "close to Channes en Brie."
p. 386, line 9 from bottom, after "cousin" insert "Warwick."

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Bethencourt, Sir Drieu d'Argines, lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Bethondes, the lord of, 185.
Bethunes, John, lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.
Beuval, Yvain de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
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Blanville, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
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Blount, Sir Thomas, one of the conspirators for the release of King Richard, 22; goes with others to Cirencester, 30; and is taken prisoner there, 33; executed at Cirencester, 39; the manner of his execution, 39–41; his head sent to London, 41.
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Bohemia, the emperor of Germany deposed and driven back into, 50; crusade against the Protestants of, 308; country of, ravaged, 309; heresy of the people, 332.
Bohemia, king of, 39; styled king of the Romans, 71; his daughter mentioned as the first wife of King Richard the 2nd, 173.
Bologna, the cardinal of, elected Pope, 138.
Boniface, pope of Rome, sends his legate to the Liegeois, 50; who refuse to receive him, 51.
Bonnan, Robert de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Bonnebant, Sir John de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Bonneval, town of, 341.
Bonnieres l'Eschaillon, town of, King Henry encamps at, 199, 200.
Bordeaux, the people of (Bordelois), 12; lament over King Richard, 12; reject the negotiations offered by the duke of Bourbon and renew their allegiance to England, 15, 16.
Bordeaux, the seneschal of, reports to King Henry V. the discontent of the Bordelois, 13.
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Bornoville, Enguerrand de, a Burgundian knight, 126; accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Paris, 140.
Bornoville, Garnot de, 207.
Bornoville, Lyound de, 266.
Bornoville, Robinet de, commands an attack on King Henry's baggage at the battle of Azincourt, 213.
Bosqueaux, count of, 336.

Bottry, Charles de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Bouc Jacob, Le, commands a portion of the Orleanist forces, 141.
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Boucicault, marshal of France, accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Paris, 140; guards the frontiers of France, 186; the passage of Blanche Tache guarded by, 192; at Abbeville with the French army, 194; confers the order of knighthood on several nobles previous to the battle of Azincourt, 201; at Azincourt with the army, 205; taken prisoner to England and dies there, 220.
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Boulogne, the countess of, marries the lord of Latremouille after the death of her first husband, the duke of Berry, 229.
Bouratier, Sir William de, ambassador from the court of France to the duke of Burgundy, 120.
Bouratier, John (William), archbishop of Bourges, one of the ambassadors sent from France to King Henry, 175, 176; delivers his charge from the king of France, 177.
Bourbon, Sir Jacques de. *See* La Marche, the count of.
Bourbon, the duchess of, obtains the release of the lord of Croy, 143.
Bourbon, Louis II., duke of, proposes negotiations to the Bordelois, which are rejected, 15; reaches Bourbourg with other French nobles on treaty of peace, 48; conducts Queen Isabella to Paris on her return from England, 52; attends the council at Paris, 132, 135.
Bourbon, John I., duke of, joins the duke of Orleans and Berry in sending an embassy to the court of England, 144, 145, 147, 148, 152; submits to the king of France, 159; enters Paris with the king, 161; sends to offer battle to King Henry, 195; with the army at Azincourt, 205; taken prisoner at Azincourt, 225; attends the feast given by King Henry in honour of the Emperor Sigismund, 227.
Bourbon, Charles de, eldest son of the above duke, accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Bray, 271; attends him to his meeting with the dauphin, 273.
Bourbon, Charlotte de, sister of the count de la Marche, married to the king of Cyprus, 136.
Bourbon children, imprisonment and release of, 143, 144.
Bourbon, James de. (*See* La Marche.)
Bourbon, John de, 88.
Bourbon, Sir Louis de (son of the lord of Praiaux), killed at Azincourt, 221.
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Bourbourg, the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon and other French nobles arrive at, 48.
Bourdon, Louis, lord of, with the army about to give battle to King Henry, 206.
Bourg, town of, besieged by duke of Orleans, 106, 113; the siege abandoned owing to disease amongst the besiegers, 107.
Bourges, archbishop of. *See* Bouratier.
Bourges, town of, 138, 139, 148, 156, 159 (*bis*), 160, 289, 308, 385.
Bours, Sir Victart de, a knight of Picardy in the army of the duke of Burgundy, 131; killed at the battle of Agincourt, 225.
Boutillier, Charles, 337.

Boutillier, Guy le, in command of the garrison sent to Rouen, 238; discontent of the garrison with him, 247; on the capture of Rouen comes over to the English; appointed lieutenant to the duke of Glo'ster, captain of Rouen, 256; King Henry gives him the command of La Roche Guyon, 268; is ordered to garrison Paris against the Dauphinists, after the king of France's death, 393.

Boutillier (or Bacheler), Sir William, a Breton knight, 136, 141; taken at St. Cloud, 142; a captain of the Orleanists, 151; taken to England, 161; charged with the murder of Duke John of Burgundy, 327.

Bouves, town of, King Henry arrives at, 193, 194.

Bouzincourt, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.

Brabant, Sir Clugnet de, admiral of France, ordered to Harfleur, 105; recalled, *ibid*; engages the English fleet, 106, 107; captures Vervins, 156; guards the frontiers of France, 186; is with the army preparing to do battle with the English, 206; takes command of a part of the army in the battle of Azincourt, 212.

Brabant, Anthony, duke of, count of Rethel (which *see*), second son of the duke of Burgundy, 112; marries the daughter of Waleran de Saint Pol, 89; receives from his father the duchy of, 95; at the jousts at Paris, 136; is engaged in the battle of Azincourt, and killed thereat, 213, 221.

Brabant, John IV., duke of (son of the above), advises his cousin Philip duke of Burgundy, 279.

Brabant, Jacqueline de Hainault, duchess of, seeks the aid of King Henry, 334; at the baptism of Henry VI., 361.

Branchault, Louis de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.

Brancquemont, Lyonnel de, a knight in the service of the French admiral, 107; one of the ambassadors from France to King Henry, 175.

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Brandemont, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.

Bray, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.

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Bresle, John de, 337.

Brest, port of, a French army embarks for Wales at, 87; another army embarks at 92.

Bretaigne, Sir Giles de, 145.

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Brimeu, the lord of, taken prisoner at the siege of Mercq, 99; accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Paris, 140, 141; ordered by the duke of Burgundy to remain at home, 188; is killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.

Brimeu, Actis or Athis de, 225; one of the embassy from Duke Philip of Burgundy to King Henry the 5th, 282, 292.

Brimeu, David de, 292, 354.

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Brimeu, Gerard, bastard of, sent with a garrison into Rouen, 238; holds Mondidier, 366.

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Brittany, 145; the admiral of, defeats the English at sea, 89, 90.

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Brunel, Maurice, lord of, 186.
Brunequet, the viscount of, 131.
Bryot-sur-Somme, the lord of Croy appointed castellan of, 144.
Buel Daimont sur Loirre, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Burgundy, Philip (II.) duke of, expresses his views on hearing of King Richard's deposition, 11; arrives at Saint Omer to renew treaty of peace on the part of France, 47; receives and entertains Queen Isabella at Abbeville, 52; celebrates the marriage of his son Anthony with the daughter of the count of St. Pol, 89; death of, 94.
Burgundy, John duke of, succeeds his father Philip, 94; sends assistance to the count of St. Pol, 102; sends an embassy to the King of France, 103; proceeds to Arras, 103; receives the government of Picardy, 103; prepares a large force against the English on the frontiers, 105; obtains leave to besiege Calais, 108; is commanded to disperse the army, 109; meets his duchess at Hesdin and proceeds to Douay, 110; his suspicion of the duke of Orleans, proceeds to Paris to lay his grievance before the king, 110; his dissatisfaction with the duke of Orleans' advancement, 114; entertains the project of assassinating the duke of Orleans, 115; its accomplishment, 116, 117; quits Paris for Flanders after the murder, 118; his answer to the embassy from the king of France, 121; marches against the Liegeois, 122; prepares to give battle, 125; his plan of attack, 126; marches to battle, 129; engages the enemy, 129; defeats them, 130; the English express their admiration of, 134, 135; proceeds to Paris, 134; his reconciliation with the Orleanists at Chartres, 134; attends the marriage of his brother Philip Count of Nevres, 135; effects a reconciliation with the Orleanists at Bicetre, 138; hears of the arrest of the lord de Croy, 139; sends to England for succour, 139;
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proceeds to Paris, 140; marches out of Paris, 140; intercepts the Orleanists at Saint Denis, 141; attacks and defeats them, 142; returns to Paris, 142; sends an embassy to England to treat of marriage between his daughter and the prince of Wales, 142; releases the duchess of Bourbon's children from imprisonment, 143; attends the council, held at Paris on the subject of the letters to King Henry from the dukes of Orleans and Berry, 145; joins the French King in the expedition against the Orleanists, 154; Henry V. abandons his alliance, 155; again reconciled with the Orleanists at Bourges, 159; annoyed at the Orleans influence he hastily quits Paris, 161; dissension in France, caused by his assassination of the duke of Orleans, 170; is in favour at Paris, 171; directs his nobles not to join the French army, 188; forbids his son to join the French army, 198–9; the two brothers of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221; his dissatisfaction at the marriage of the duke de Berry's widow with the lord of Latremonille; sends the lord of Fosseux to seize the town of Boulogne, 229; proceeds to Calais, 230; attempts of King Henry to gain him over, 230; he rejects the king's offer, 231; does homage to the Emperor Sigismund at Calais, and returns to St. Omer, 231; hatred of the French nobles against him, 231; some of the French nobles take his part, 235; is about to invade the French territory, 236; Paris captured by his party, 236; sends a garrison to Rouen, 238; promises aid to the besieged of Rouen, 204; sends an embassy to King Henry, 244; receives the ambassadors on their return at Pontoise, 245; endeavours to send help to Rouen, 247; goes from Pontoise to Beauvais where he holds a council, 247; the divisions between him and the dauphin, 248; is again appealed to by

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Burgundy, Philip (the Good) duke of, succeeds his father John, 279; sends ambassadors to King Henry to obtain a truce, 280; resolves to avenge the death of his father, 282; concludes to make an alliance with the English, 282; receives ambassadors from King Henry, 283; is joined by an English force at Saint Quentin, 286; proceeds to join the French ambassadors at Troyes, 287; attends the conferences there, 287; prepares for the reception of King Henry, 289; receives the English king and attends his marriage ceremony, 291; assists King Henry in capturing the town of Sens occupied by the Dauphinists, 303; aids the English in the assault of Monterau, 304; disinters his father's body, 305; and has it transferred to a Carthusian church at Dijon, 305; enters Paris with the kings of France and England, 325; demands justice on his father's murderers, 327, 328; proceeds to Beauvais, thence to Ghent to meet the duchess, 332; pursues the dauphin's forces into Picardy, 368; besieges the dauphinists at St. Riquier, 345; raises the siege and prepares to meet the Dauphinists, 347; attacks and defeats them, 349, 352; returns to Abbeville, 352, 353; negotiates surrender of Saint Riquier, 358; visits the kings of France and England, 359, 360; returns to Burgundy, 360; appoints a day with the dauphin to do battle, 383; applies to King Henry to help him towards establishing an army, 383; meets the English army under the duke of Bedford at Vezelay, 384; sets out with them for Cosne, 384; sends to inquire after King Henry's health, 385; on hearing of the King's death goes to Vincennes to confer with the English princes, and thence to Paris, 388; attends a council of nobles at Paris, 388; departs from Paris and returns to Flanders, 389; his wife, Michelle of France, dies at Ghent, 392.

Butler, Sir Ralph, 365, 367.

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Caen (Kem, in text), the bailiff of, arrests the ambassadors from the duke of Orleans, 145; King Henry takes the town of, 237; fortified by King Henry, 240.

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the earl of Rutland's effigy hanged outside the walls, 87; about to be besieged by the duke of Burgundy, 108; the expedition stopped, 109; reinforced by Henry V., 111; proclamation made there by Henry, 149; the earls of Warwick and Kyme land there, 160; some of the prisoners from Harfleur sent there, 189; the duke of Orleans taken to, 216; the Governors of, refuse to admit the English men-at-arms fearing a famine, 217; Henry enters, 218; and is joyfully received, 219; the prisoners from Harfleur arrive there, 219; the Emperor Sigismund received there, 226; and returns there after his visit to England, 228; duke Philip of Burgundy there, 230; Henry and his queen and the king of Scotland visit it, 333; the duchess of Brabant goes there on her way to Henry's court, 334; Henry V. lands there, 340; and leaves for Chartres, 342; Henry's body brought there, 390.

Calais, the lieutenant of. *See* Haston, Sir Richard.

Cambray, 332.

Cambray, Sir Henry, brother of the bishop of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.

Cambridge, earl of, conspires against King Henry, 182; is confronted with the earl of March and sentenced to be beheaded, 183. *See also* York, duke of.

Cambrone, Cocquart de, 330.

Camchin, Le Borgne de, 357.

Canny, the lord of, 375.

Canterbury, archbishop of (Roger Walden). *See* Walden.

Canterbury, archbishop of, 6; crowns King Henry the 4th, 7; goes with the Londoners to receive the heads of the duke of Surrey and others, 41; gives the answer of King Henry the 5th to the French ambassadors, 176; receives the

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king on his return from the war, 219; meets the French embassy at Pont de l'Arche, 244; treats with the people of Rouen for the surrender of the place, 252, 253.

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Caoursin, the country of, 190.

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Carlemanny, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.

Carlisle, bishop of, imprisoned with other prelates, 21; conspires to release King Richard, 22.

Carmarthen, 92.

Carmien, Sir William, 136.

Cassel, 108.

Castille, King of, 71.

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Cauches, the river, 199.

Cauchon, Peter, bishop of Beauvais, 331.

Caudebec, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.

Cauffort, Henry de, sent with a garrison into Rouen, 238.

Cauffours, Rallant des, 151.

Caux, the country of, the Earl of Dorset makes a raid into, 232; Henry V. passes through, 332.

Caux, the gate of (at Rouen), 240, 242.

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Caumont, the children of, 330.

Cauroy, the lord of, with his brother, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.

Cays, the English army proceeds to, 194.

Cennes, town of, King Henry's army at, 199.

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Challan, Ame de, 308.

Challers, Sir Robert de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.

Challers, Pousses de, lord of Chastelneuf, killed at Azincourt, 223.
Chalons in Champagne, the dauphin writes to the people of, 277; Philip duke of Burgundy at, 287.
Champagne, king at arms, 66 *note*, 73, 77.
Champ-divers, William de, ambassador from France on treaty of peace, 244.
Chaunensy, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Channes-en-Brie, the English ambassadors to the king of France attacked by the Dauphinists at, 258 (*see errata*).
Channy, assists at the siege of Saint Remy, 151; in Boullenois, 157; taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, 225.
Charenton, bridge of, 291.
Charité-sur-Loire taken by the dauphin, 383.
Charles VI., king of France. *See* France.
Charles, duke of Orleans. *See* Orleans.
Charles, duke of Touraine. *See* Dauphin.
Charolois, John count of, succeeds his father Philip duke of Burgundy, 95.
Charolois, Philip count of, summoned to Paris by his father duke John, 143; attends a council there, 145; is requested by the king to join the French army, 198; forbidden thereto by his father, 198; detained in the castle of Aire to prevent him joining the French army, 198; entertains the duke of Gloucester at St. Omer, 230; hears of his father's assassination, 279; takes possession of his father's dominions, and holds a parliament at Lille, 279. (*See* Burgundy, Philip III. duke of.)
Chartres, the peace of, 134; the town besieged by the dauphin, 341; Henry V. pressed to succour it, 342, 355; the siege raised, 344.
Chartres, the bishop of, attends the count de St. Pol to receive Queen Isabella of England, 52; reconciliation between Orleans and Burgundy at, 134, 159.
Chartres, Hector de, with his two brothers killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Chartreux, Maison de (at Rouen), 240.
Chasteau-Molineaux, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.
Chasteler, the lord of, 236.
Chasteler, Michiel de, with his brother killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Chastel-Gaillart, the fortress of, besieged and captured by the English, 268.
Chastel-Morant, Sir John de, accompanies the duke of Burgundy to Bourbourg on treaty of peace with England, 48.
Chastelneuf, the lord of. *See* Challers.
Chastel-Pol, port of, the French fleet set sail from, 89.
Chastel Villain, the lord of, 292, 360.
Chastelus, the lord of, 292.
Chastillon, Jacques de (lord of Dompierre, Admiral of France), killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.
Chastillon, Charles de, killed at the same battle, 223.
Chastillon, the lord of, 370.
Chatelet (Paris), 324.
Chausnes, Allemant de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
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Chepoy, the lord of, killed at the battle of Agincourt, 224.
Cherbourg, besieged by the duke of Gloucester, and delivered up to him, 237, 238; fortified by King Henry, 240.
Chevene, John de (Viscount of Brunequet), 131.
Chim, the lord of, in the army of the count of St. Pol, 101; killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Chollet, Sir John, a Burgundian, killed in the battle with the Liegeois, 131.
Cirencester, the earls of Salisbury and and Huntingdon and other rebel nobles at, 29, 30; their proceedings discovered by a spy at, 31; the conspirators arrested by the constable of, 31, 32.
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Clarence, Thomas duke of, appointed to lead the force in aid of the Orleanists, 153; arrives at La Hogue St. Vaast with an English force, 159; proceeds to

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meet the duke of Orleans, 161; sureties given to him by the Orleanists, 161; accompanies the king to France, 184; returns to England, 189; commands the army sent to France, 229; raises the siege of Harfleur, 230; garrisons the town and returns to England, 230; at Southampton with King Henry, 234; accompanies King Henry to the French court, 259; besieges and captures Gisors, 266; attends King Henry at his marriage with the Princess Katherine, 291; appointed captain of Paris, 315; intercedes for Bertram de Caumont, 324; present in the royal court at Paris, 325, 331; appointed captain-general in Normandy, 332; attacks the Dauphinists in Anjou, and is slain at Beaujé, 336–338; King Henry's grief at his death, 338, 340; and expedition to avenge him, 356.
Clarence, the duchess of, 312.
Clary, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.
Clary, Lancellot de, killed at the same battle, 223.
Clary, castle of, captured by the dauphin, 281.
Clau, John of, a captain in the duke of Burgundy's service, 265.
Clere, the lord of, with the army sent to defend Harfleur, 185.
Clermont, count of. *See* Montagu, the lord of.
Clermont, the province of, devastated by the English, 257; the earl of Huntingdon marches through, 267; town of, unsuccessfully attacked by the English, 285.
Cleves, count of, 72.
Clichon, the lord of, 72.
Clifford, Lord, sent to the aid of the duke of Exeter in Paris, 341.
Cobham, Lord, enters into a conspiracy against King Henry, 182; is examined by King Henry, confronted with the earl of March his accuser, sentenced and beheaded, 183.
Col, Walter, secretary of the French king, one of the ambassadors from France to King Henry the 5th, 175.
Collenbrun (Colnbrook), the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon reach, with their troops, 29.
Colonna, Cardinal, 235.
Colville, Sir Thomas, accompanies Sir Thomas Percy to Bordeaux, 15.
Cologne, the bishop of, 308.
Cologne, the duke of Heidelburg elected emperor of Germany and crowned at, 50.
Combomes, the lord of, killed at the battle of Aaincourt, 222.
Combourt, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Comflans, the lord of, 352, 354.
Commines, the lord of, 354.
Commines, Collard de, 354.
Compiegne, town of, 267, 289; held by the dauphin's troops, 330, 365; who are defeated by the English and Burgundians, 368, 397, 398, 400, 408; surrenders to the duke of Bedford, 375, 380; King Henry arrives at, 381.
Compois, John de, 308.
Concy, the town of, 399.
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Constance, embassy from Henry V. to the emperor of Germany sent to, 170.
Constance, the council of, prorogued, 237.
Contentin, 159.
Conversan (Peter of Luxembourg), count of, joins the forces of the count of Hainault against the Liegeois, 122; attacks and captures the dauphin's city of Alibaudières, 290; attends the marriage of King Henry, 292; is taken prisoner by the Dauphinists, 313; released and retained in King Henry's service during the siege of Meaux, 361; retakes the bridge of Meulant from the Dauphinists, 366; arranges terms with the besieged for the surrender of Meaux-en-Brye, 371, 372.

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Corbeil, town of, the French court at, 310, 325.
Corbye, town of, 194.
Corbye, Regnault de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Cornwall, a messenger from the seneschal of Bordeaux arrives in, 13; Sir Thomas Percy sails to France from, 14.
Cornwall, the lord of (John, Lord Fanhope) engages in jousts at Paris, 136; accompanies King Henry the 5th to France, 181; is with the advanced guard of King Henry's army, 190, 203; two of his ships lost in a storm, 219; at Southampton with King Henry, 234; assists in the attack upon Rouen, 241; is sent to repulse an attack made by the garrison of Rouen, and defeats the garrison, 250, 251; assists at the capture of Fontaines-la-Vagant, 284; and in the attack on Clermont, 285; one of the negotiators for the surrender of Melun, 322.
Cornwall, Sir John de (son of the above), joins Henry the 5th at Southampton, 235; killed by a cannon-shot before Meaux, 371.
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Coucy, the lord de, acquaints the king of France with the news of King Richard's deposition, 11.
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Craon, Sir Anthony de, assists in the capture of Domfront, 150; sent by the constable to Vernon for artillery to besiege Saint Remy, *ibid.*
Craon, Sir John de (lord of Dommart), joins the count de St. Pol, 101; made prisoner at Azincourt, 228.
Craon, Sir John de (lord of Mobason), killed at Azincourt, 222.
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Croy, the lord of, sent by the duke of Burgundy to guard the frontiers of Flanders, 103; appointed captain of Picardy, 110; at Tongres, 126; arrested by the Orleanists, 138; imprisoned at Blois, 139; released from prison by the Orleanists, 143; appointed by the king governor of the province of Boulogne, and to the office of grand butler of France, 144; forbidden to join the French, 188; plans an attack on King Henry in person, 207; is killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221; John, his son, killed at the same battle, 221.
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Dommart, the lord of, joins the army of the count de St. Pol at Terouanne, 101; killed at the battle of Azincourt, 224.

Dommart, the viscount de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 224.

Dompierre, the lord of (Sir Jacques de Châtillon), seneschal of Ponthieu, taken prisoner at the siege of Mercq, 99; joins the count de St. Pol at Terouanne, 101; at Abbeville with the French army, 194; with the army preparing to give battle to the English, 205; killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.

Domville, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.

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Douglas, earl of, defeated and taken prisoner by Sir Thomas Percy, 54; leads the vanguard of Percy's army

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Falaise, the town of, taken by King Henry, 236.
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Fosseux, John de, joins the forces under the count of St. Pol, 96; one of the duke of Burgundy's captains, 354.

Fosseux, the lord of, joins the court of St. Pol, 101; accompanies the duke of Burgundy, 140; warned against joining the French, 188; taken prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, 225; governor of Artois, 229; sent by the duke of Burgundy to seize the town of Boulogne, 229; commands a Burgundian force against the Orleanists, 381.

Fosseux, Philip de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.

Fosseux, Collard de, killed at Azincourt, 222.

Fosseux, William de, with others, makes terms with King Henry for the surrender of Meaux-en-Brie, 371.

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Poix, Jennet de, taken prisoner at Azincourt, 225.
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Pontaillier (Pontarlier), Guy de, accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Bray, 271; attends the duke when he goes out to meet the dauphin, 273.
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Quieret, Hustin de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
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R.

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Renty, Oudart de, with two brothers killed at the battle of Azincourt, 221.
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S.

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Saint Cler, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Saint Cloud, the Orleanists posted at, 140; defeated there, 142.
Saint Crespin, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
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Saint Davids, bishop of, one of the embassy from King Henry to the court of France, 104.
Saint Denis, the duke of Burgundy intercepts the Orleanists there, 140; the king of France accompanies the Emperor Sigismund to, 226; the French court removes to, 263; the French court leaves for Troyes, 265; King Henry there, 291; the king of France is buried at, 393.
Saint Dizier, the English take the town of, from the Dauphinists, 382.
Saint Donas de Bruges, provost of, ambassador from the duke of Burgundy to the court of England, 142.
Saint George, the lord of, accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Paris 140; accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Bray, 271; attends the duke when he goes out to meet the dauphin, 273; the duke tells him what confidence he feels in Sir Tanneguy du Chastel, 274; goes to ask King Henry to release his nephew, 360.

Saint George, Sir William de Vienne, lord of, appointed captain of Picardy, 103; resigns his office, 110.
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Saint Germaine, Walleran de, 365.
Saint Germain sur Cailly, the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.
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Saint Hilary, gate of Rouen, 240.
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Saint John, gate of (Saint Riquier), 346.
Saint Katherine, the fort of (Rouen), part of the English army before, 241; surrenders to King Henry, 241.
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Saint Lambert, the standard of, is carried by the damoiseau de Salines, 125, 131.
"Saint Lambert," war cry of the Liegois, 129.
Saint Legier, Maurroy de, 329, 349, 354.
Saint Lo, town of, taken by King Henry, 236.
Saint Louis, the altar of, 276. *See also* Louis IX.
Saint Malo, 89; the lord of Neufchatel sails for Dartmouth from the port of, 91.
Saint Martin, Annieux de, in the service of the admiral of France, 107.
Saint Martin, Bernard de, 352, 354.
Saint Martin, church of (Harfleur), King Henry offers up prayers on the surrender of Harfleur at, 188.
Saint Martin des Champs (Paris), jousts held at, 136.
Saint Martin-le-Gaillart, the English besiege, 266; help is sent to the besieged of, 266, 267; is set fire to by the garrison, who escape, 277.
Saint Matthews, port of, engagement between the English and French fleets off the, 90,
Saint Maxence, 321.
Saint Maur des-Fossez, the monastery of King Henry's remains interred at, 388.
Saint Nicholas, gate of (Saint Riquier), 346.
Saint Omer, 160; Duke Philip of Burgundy at, 48; the count of St. Pol retreats from Calais to, 99; duke John of Burgundy disperses his army at, 109; and departs from, 110: the duke of Gloucester sent there as hostage, 230; the duke of Burgundy returns thither, and the duke of Gloucester leaves, 231; 319.
Saint Omer, the provost of, 142.
Saint Omer au Bois (or Samer-au-Bois), town of, burnt by the English, 160.
Saint Paul's (London), King Richard's corpse exhibited in the church of, 38; Te Deum sung there after execution of the conspirators against Henry IV., 42; and after the victory at Shrewsbury, 63; King Richard's corpse rests at, for one night previous to its being interred at Westminster, by order of Henry V., 172; King Henry pays his devotions at, 220; funeral service for Henry V. at, 390.
Saint Pierre, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Saint Pol, 199, 332.
Saint Pol, the hotel of (Paris), the king of France stops at, 145, 154, 326; the court for trying the duke of Burgundy's murderers sits there, 327; the French king keeps Christmas there, 330; the French court at, its poor state, 377; the king of France dies there, 392.
Saint Pol, Waleran count of, 112, 144; receives Queen Isabella on her return from England, 52; his letter to King Henry, 85; his anger at the king's reply and his action thereupon, 86, 87; his daughter married to the duke of Burgundy's second son, 89; departs from Abbeville for Harfleur, whence he sets sail, 95; descends upon the Isle of Wight, but re-embarks without effecting any damage, 96; raises an army of Picards, Boullenois, and Flemings, and marches to besiege the castle of Mercq, 97; is defeated by the English, 99; re-

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treats by St. Omer to Terouanne, *ibid.*; collects another force there, 101; is superseded by order of the king, *ibid.*; assistance sent to him by the duke of Burgundy, 102; ordered by the French King to withdraw from the duke of Burgundy's expedition, 109; accompanies the duke of Burgundy from Paris, 140; is ordered to garrison the frontier towns against the English, 157; holds a council of war and sends an army to Guines, 158; returns to Boulogne, 159; sent to St. Omer, 161; attends the reception of King Henry by the French court at Meulant, 259; accompanies the duke of Burgundy to his meeting with the dauphin, 262; remains at Paris, 265; the Parisians after the murder of the duke of Burgundy swear to support him, 277, 278; sends deputies from Paris to the young duke, 281; appointed one of the commissioners to carry out terms of peace, 315, 318; goes with the duke of Burgundy to Paris, 359.

Saint Pol (Artois), the French army draws near to, 199.

Saint Pol des Lyons (Brittany), the French army returns from Wales to, 94.

Saint Quentin, 195, 285, 286.

Saint Remy au Plain, siege of, 150, 151.

Saint Remy, Jean le Febvre, lord of. *See* Golden Fleece.

Saint Riquier, 319, 343; besieged by the duke of Burgundy, 345, 346; the siege raised, 347; skirmish near, 348; surrender secured by the duke of Burgundy, 358.

Saint Sollier, Philip de, 352.

Saint Sollier, Regnault de, 354.

Saint Symon, the lord of, and his brother, Gallois de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.

Saint Symon, the lord of, 354.

Saint Thomas (of Canterbury), King Henry makes an offering at the shrine of, 219.

Saint Vaast. *See* La Hogue St. Vaast.

Saint Valery, 257, 352, 359, 378.

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Sainteron, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.

Saintetraille, Pierron de (called Pothon in text), slain in battle, 257.

Saintetraille, Pothon de, 286, 344, 345, 346, 348, 352, 354, 367.

Saintes. *See* Banites.

Salines in Ardennes, count of, joins the count of Hainault against the Liegeois, 122; is killed in battle, 131.

Salines, the damoiseau de, eldest son of the count of Salines, 131.

Salines, the count of, is with the army preparing to do battle with the English, 205, 206.

Salisbury, earl of (John de Montacute), is in prison during the solemnities of King Henry's coronation, 8; doomed to death by the people and some of the nobles, 8; pardoned by King Henry through the intercession of the earl of Huntingdon, 9; conspires to effect King Richard's release, 22; his conduct on suspecting the failure of the plot, 28; leads his troops to Windsor, and thence to Colnbrook and Brentford, 29; continues his march to Saint Albans, thence to Berkhamstead, *ibid.*; reaches Cirencester with the other conspirators, 30; is slain there in the attempt to arrest him, 32.

Salisbury, earl of (Thomas de Montacute), is at Southampton with King Henry, 232; is before Rouen, 241; attends Henry V. at the French court, 325; rescues the duke of Clarence's body at Beaujé, 338; endeavours to raise the siege of Alençon, 339.

"Salmue," an island off the English coast so called, 88.

Salus, a coin so called, 358.

Samer-au-Bois. *See* Saint Omer-au-Bois.

Sandwich, ambassadors from the Liegeois reach, 120; part of King Henry's army go by, on their return to England, 218.

Sanxerre, town of, 382.

Sanxerre, Louis de (constable of France), 12.
Sardonne, Ferry de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Saveuse, John de, 161.
Saveuse, Hector de, with the army about to give battle with the English, 206; commands the garrison of Pont Remy, 268; assists at the capture of Crespy-en-Lannois, 286.
Saveuse, Sir Morel de, slain at the siege of Mercq, 99.
Saveuse, Philip de, 286, 347, 349.
Saveuse, Robert de, 290.
Saveuses, the lord of, 352, 364, 365, 367, 368.
Saveuses, Le Borgne de, 367.
Saveuses, Sir William de, is with the army about to do battle with the English, 206; takes command of a part of the army engaged in the battle of Azincourt, 212; is vanquished by the English, *ibid.*; is killed, 221.
Savoyards, the army of the, in the expedition against the Hussites, 308.
Savoisi, Sir Jacques de, in the service of the French admiral, 107.
Savoy, the count of (afterwards Pope), made a duke by the Emperor Sigismund, 233; the duke of Burgundy visits him, 360.
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Scotland, the king of, 71, 137.
Scotland, James, king of (son of Robert III.),* his detention by Henry IV. denounced by the count of Tancarville, 137; brought as a prisoner to England, 314; circumstances of his capture, 315; is brought to King Henry at Melun, 315; returns with the king to England, 332; released by, on condition of marrying Henry's cousin, 334.
Scots, 147, 372.
Scrope, Lord, enters into a conspiracy against King Henry, 182; confronted with the earl of March, his accuser, sentenced to be beheaded and is executed, 183.
Seely, Sir Bennett, joins the conspirators at Cirencester, 30; taken there, 33; and executed, 39; his head sent to London, 41.
Seguinac, Maitre John de, attends the duke of Burgundy to meet the dauphin, 273.
Seine, river, duke of Burgundy attacks the Orleanists near, 140, 141; King Henry when before Rouen fixes chains across, 241; the French garrison of Rouen when sent away by King Henry cross the, 255; a new bridge made over, 305; bridge of boats over, 311.
Seine, the lord of. *See* La Seine.
Sempy, Collard de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Senlis, the town of, the kings of France and England arrive from Paris at, 378; the duke of Bedford goes to the king at, 380; King Henry leaves for Compeigne, 383, 384.
Sens, town of, 156, 157; captured by King Henry from the Dauphinists, 303.
Serre, marquis of, 352, 354.
Servy en Launois, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Sery (Sery-Fontaines), the fortress of, surrenders to King Henry, 256.
Severn, the river, 29.
Shrewsbury, King Henry meets the army of Percy near, 59; battle of, 60–62.
Sicily, Louis king of, attends the council at Paris, 132, 133, 135; is present at the council on the subject of the letters to the king of England from the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Berry, 143, 145; his demeanour towards the king of France, 146; quits Paris and prepares to defend Maine against the counts of Alençon and Richemont, 150; present at the council held at Rouen, 197 *note*; persuades the duke of Guienne not to join the army sent against the English, 198.

* Called David in the text.

Sicily, Louis king of, son of the above, crowned at Rome, 313, 314.
Sicily, the queen of, 313.
Sigismund, the emperor (king of the Romans), 170; meets the king of France at Paris, 225; undertakes to go to England, 226; is entertained at London by King Henry, 227; returns to France, and relates what he has done, 228; receives homage at Calais from the duke of Burgundy for Alost and Burgundy, 231; returns to Germany, 233.
Sissay, Guichard de, 357; displays great valour in the defence of Meaux-en-Brie, 370, 371; Henry V.'s brothers warned against releasing him, 387.
Sluys (Lescluse), an English army lands at, and is defeated, 102.
Soissons, count of. *See* Couchy.
Somerset, the duke of, 98.
Somerset, earl of, at the battle of Shrewsbury, 58; his sister married to the King of Scotland, 334; taken prisoner at the battle of Beaujé, 337.
Somme, river, 190; King Henry marches up the, 190, 193; attempts to cross at La Blanche-Tache, 191; a part of the French army sent to defend the passage of, 194; King Henry crosses, 195, 196; 348, 365.
Sommain, John de, 354.
Souch (? Saatz), town of, in Bohemia, besieged during the expedition against the Hussites, 309.
Southampton, earl of, 241.
Southampton, the port of, 95; the French demand of King Henry the withdrawal of his army from, 175; King Henry ships his army for France from, 178; his letter to the king of France dated from, 179; he assembles his army at, 181; the English army assembles at, 234.
Stanfort, earl of, dies when with the army before Harfleur, 186.
Stanfort, earl of, at Southampton with King Henry, 234.
Stas de Courthouse, an accomplice in the murder of the duke of Orleans, 116.
Stemuse, Sir John de, 354.
Surrey, duke of, 58. (*See* Kent.)
Symon, Dom, 324.

T.

Tancarville, count of, refers to the murder of King Richard and other charges against King Henry, 137.
Tayeu, le besgue de, and his brother Payen de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Temple, the (Paris), 170, 324.
Tenby, the marshal of France reaches, and has conference with the Welsh chiefs at, 92.
Terebave, 333.
Terouanne, 99, 101, 333 *note*.
Terouanne, the bishop of, 327.
Thabary, captain of a band of brigands taking the side of the duke of Burgundy, account of his movements, 239.
Thames, river, 167; King Henry proceeds from St. Paul's to Westminster by the, 220.
Thames, Pomfret on. *See* Pontefract.
Therey, castle of, the duke of Orleans proceeds to, 105.
Thibauville, the lord de la Riviere de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 226.
Thienbronne, Sir Guichart de, 330.
Thienbronne, Louis de, 268, 330, 352, 354, 375. *See also* Cambrone.
Thoisi, John de, bishop of Tournay, chancellor of Burgundy, attends the council at Paris to consider the conduct of the dukes of Orleans and Berry, 145; appointed by Duke Philip of Burgundy to treat of an alliance with England, 285; attends the marriage cermony of King Henry, 292; is present at the royal court held at Paris, 327.
Tholongon, Andrew de, 354.

Tholongon, Sir Anthony de (lord of Tholongon), sent with a garrison into Rouen, 238; one of the embassy from Duke Philip to King Henry 5th, 280.
Thyan (or Tyan), the bastard of, sent to Rouen, 238; captures dauphinist fortresses, 290; defends Chartres, 341; knighted, 370; placed in charge of Paris, 393.
Thyennes, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Tongres, John of Bavaria besieged by the Liegeois at, 122; the Liegeois retire from, 124; a battle imminent near, 126; battle of, 129; a sally made from, after the battle, 131.
Torez, the lord of, killed at Azincourt, 223.
Tostavant, John de, 337.
Toucques in Normandy, besieged by King Henry, 234; is surrendered, *ibid.*
Toucques, the lord of, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 223.
Touraine, Charles, duke of. *See* Dauphin.
Touraine, the duchy of, demanded of France by King Henry, 176.
Touraine, the dauphin visits the country of, 269.
Tournay, 248.
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Tournehem, the army under the count of St. Pol marches to, 97.
Tours, the dauphin leaves, for Melun, 261; retires thither, 344.
Tours, *sou* and *denier* of, 357.
Tramecourt, the French army encamps between Azincourt and, 204, 207, 209, 212.
Tramery, the viscount de, killed at the battle of Azincourt, 222.
Tret (Maëstricht), John of Bavaria, besieged by the Liegeois at, 122, 123.
Treves, archbishop of, joins the expedition against the Hussites, 308.
Troit, the fortress of. *See* Le Troit.
Tromago, 357, 371.
Trompanton, Lord, 186.
Troyes in Champagne, King Henry 5th send ambassadors to the king of France at, 258; the French court goes to, 265; the dauphin sends to the duke of Burgundy at, 270; the news of the duke's murder brought to, 275; the French court still remains at, 283; Duke Philip of Burgundy prepares to go to, 285, 286; enters the town, 287; and prepares to receive King Henry at, 289; arrival of King Henry at, 291; and marriage with Katherine, *ibid.*; treaty made between the two kings at, 292–302, 303, 360; an English army at, 383; the army returns to, 385; the treaty of, confirmed at Paris, 389.
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